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TRADE UNIONISM & SOCIO-ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN THE YORKSHIRE
GLASS INDUSTRY, circa 1840-1940

TERENCE SPENCER

VOLUME I



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TRADE UNIONISM AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC
DEVELOPMENT IN THE YORKSHIRE GLASS
INDUSTRY, circa 1840 - 1940.

TERENCE SPENCER

BA (Hons)

SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF Ph.D

OPEN UNIVERSITY FACULTY OF ARTS, 1988.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the developmental pattern of trade unionism within the Yorkshire Glass Industry in the century after 1840. The concept of labour aristocracy is utilised to provide a framework for analysis of the actions and ideology of the artisan glassmakers both at the point of production and in a wider societal context.

The thesis consists of two parts. Part One is a summary of the principal theories which have emerged from the controversy concerning the nature and role of the labour aristocracy and indicates areas of investigation concerning the position of the artisan glassworkers within the context of the ongoing debate. The nature of the principal sources employed together with the methodology utilised to form the overall analysis is discussed and a hypothesis is formulated.

Part Two of the thesis consists of the analysis of data sources to test the hypothesis. The source material is examined within the context of three chronologically based sections. Each section corresponds to a discernable phase in trade union development within the Yorkshire Glass Industry. The three chronological sections are subdivided into an uneven series of topic headings each dealing with relevant aspects of the trade and trade unionism during the period under review. The arbitrary disruption of the time continuum in order to facilitate the handling of the source material has meant that some sub-topics are common to all three chronological periods whilst others are, perhaps, applicable to one or two only.

Section one examines the years 1840 to 1880 which were years of trade union growth and the adoption and consolidation of centralised systems of union administration. The years 1880 to 1910 which form the second section were ones in which the unions under the adverse effects of trade depression, intensified competition both foreign and domestic, and the impact of technological change, suffered enforced retreat and retrenchment before experiencing a brief period of revival at the turn of the present century. The third section, 1910 - 1940, deals with the decline and demise of the craft-based unions in the face of the threat by automatic machine production processes and the adverse effects of the Great War and its economic aftermath.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Amalgamated Society	Glass Bottle Makers of Great Britain and Ireland Amalgamated Trade Association (Second Amalgamated Society - 1872).
A.S.C.J.	Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners.
A.S.E.	Amalgamated Society of Engineers.
C.C.	Central Committee.
C.E.C.	Children's Employment Commission.
D.M.	Delegate Meeting.
E.C.	Executive Council.
F.G.M.	Flint Glass Makers.
F.G.M.M.	Flint Glass Makers' Magazine.
F.G.B.M.	National Glass Bottle Makers' Society of Great Britain and Ireland.
F.G.B.M.M.	National Glass Bottle Makers' Society Magazine.
G.B.M.	Glass Bottle Makers.
G.B.M. Reports	Quarterly Reports of The Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society.
G.M.F.	Glass Manufacturers' Federation.
G. & M.W.U.	General & Municipal Workers' Union.
I.U.	International Union of Glass Workers.

National Federation

Federation of Regional Glass Bottle
Makers' Societies (1893).

N.C. Reports

Reports of the Conferences of the
Federation of Glass Bottle Makers'
Societies.

N.G.W.T.P.A.

National Glass Workers of Great Britain
and Ireland Trade Protection Association.

R.C.

Royal Commission.

T. & G.W.U.

Transport and General Workers' Union.

T.U.C.

Trades Union Congress.

'United' Society

National Glass Bottle Makers' Friendly
Society of Great Britain and Ireland
(First Amalgamated Society - 1858).

INTRODUCTION

(a) Objectives

This study is an attempt to trace and analyse the growth of trade unionism and associated socio-economic developments within the Yorkshire glass industry during the period 1840 to 1940. The origins and nature of organised labour are examined within the context of social, economic, and technological factors which were influential in promoting the rise of the industry. The study seeks to identify the constituent elements of capital and labour within the trade, their ideologies and relationships and to analyse the effects of industrial expansion in an era of rapid technological change on the traditional attitudes and methodology which characterised the manual systems of production, together with the wider implications for urbanised society. The structure of artisan Trade Societies is examined against the concept of 'New Model' trade unionism. In addition, the concept of labour aristocracy is utilised to provide a framework for the analysis of the artisan glassmakers engaged within the Yorkshire glass industry.¹ As the bulk of the extant data concerning the industry is drawn from trade union sources the thesis represents an attempt to employ the concept of labour aristocracy to interpret the history of trade unionism within the industry, while at the same time utilising primary source material from Union records to test the validity of the Labour Aristocracy notion.

(b) Labour aristocracy - conceptulisation

The development of trade unionism within the Yorkshire glass industry was shaped by the existence of two distinct groups of artisan glassmakers, the Glass Bottle Makers, and the Flint Glass Makers. The artisans formed an elite element within the industry and working class society. Craft skills and a well developed system of labour organisation enabled the artisan glassmakers to exert considerable control of their trade at the point of production. As a result the container trade was characterised by the potentially high level of artisan earnings.

Such characteristics bear the hallmark of an elite upper stratum of manual workers which has been termed by historians as 'the aristocracy

of labour! As a result of an ongoing debate for over a generation, variable definitions of the nature of the labour aristocracy and its influence on urban industrialised society, post 1850, have been formulated. Basically, the concept as utilised by Hobsbawm is applied to an elite of manual workers who for sundry socio-economic reasons were able to use their collective power to obtain for themselves working and living conditions far more favourable than those applicable to the bulk of contemporary labourers.

Hobsbawm regards the period 1840 - 1890, and in some instances extending to 1914, as the classic age of labour aristocracy. Whilst his theory has been much criticised, particularly for the economic determinism which underlines the definition, it has stimulated a wide area of subsequent research and is by no means invalidated.

Hobsbawm's theory and conceptional definition are utilised in this study to examine the extent to which the theory is applicable to the role of the Yorkshire based glass artisans.

Matsumura in his study of the Flint Glass Makers of the Stourbridge district during the period 1850 - 1880, found a high degree of correlation with the definition of the labour aristocracy expounded by Hobsbawm.² Matsumura's research, however, was primarily concerned with a group of flint glassmakers engaged in the production of domestic and tableware, an area of production demanding a far higher degree of concentration and craftsmanship than that required of their contemporaries within the Yorkshire container trade. Recognition of the fact prompts speculation concerning the status consciousness of the artisans engaged within the two distinct spheres of the trade. Attitudes of superiority, either explicit or implied, would not only affect the relationship between respective trade union organisations, or even in the case of the Flint Glass Makers Society, between the sectional elements, but could be fundamental in determining the status of the Yorkshire artisans as basis for membership of the labour aristocracy.

(c) Labour aristocracy - identification

To test the hypothesis six criteria of identification formulated by Hobsbawm are summarised and briefly discussed in the context of their presumed applicability to the Yorkshire glass artisans.

(i) conditions of work

Examination of the factors resulting in the siting of glass works in urban areas during the early nineteenth century and the origins and nature of the manual systems of production is essential to understanding the conditions in which glass manufacture was undertaken. Not only ^{were} workshop methodology and conditions at the core of all artisan activity but the size and rate of growth of the industry provides an explanatory framework for the relationship between the artisan and his employer. It is not unreasonable to presume that the work place was the dominant influence on the ideology and actions of the artisan glassmaker since the organisation and circumstances of the trade governed his situation within and his experience of the trade.

The indications are that from about 1840 the establishment of urban glassworks within the County, in response to expanding market forces, resulted in the imposition of features of rationalisation within the trade, such as regularisation of working hours, and chair composition which in turn governed the pace of production. The period is also marked, post 1870, by the introduction of new technology, which, whilst not displacing the manual system of production, produced detrimental effects on environmental conditions within the workshop and adverse conditions of health and sanitation. Assuming the above theory of worsening conditions to be correct, what reasons may be produced to explain the acceptance of such adverse measures by the glass artisans?

Hobsbawm's economic determinism has led him to the conclusion that the privileged economic situation of the craft elite was obtained at the expense of the less favoured workers.³ The desire to maintain the position of privilege inclined the labour aristocracy to adopt the aims and ideology of their middle class employers, which was expressed in a willingness to co-operate in matters social and industrial.⁴ This notion of working class betrayal and the deliberate embourgeoisement of the labour aristocracy by the capitalist manufacturers has also been propounded by John Foster.⁵ Allied to Foster's analysis is the notion that the industrial elite was 'bribed' by the capitalist manufacturers to accept change in the pace and conditions of work in order to enforce them on the unorganised majority of manual workers. The extent to which the 'pacemaking' theory of Foster explains the changed situation in the Yorkshire glass works

about the middle of the nineteenth century and the theory of economic 'bribery' to explain the acceptance of the change will be considered in this study. Hobsbawm's thesis has been challenged by Pelling,⁶ who amongst other things contests Hobsbawm's definition of the mid-Victorian period as the classic age of labour aristocracy.

More telling criticism of Hobsbawm and Foster's theory of embourgeoisement comes, however, from Musson⁷ who cites the work of Thompson⁸ to show the pre-industrial bilateralism⁹ of working-class society. Musson sees the changes wrought by the advent of urban industrialism as a catalyst in expanding an existing labour aristocracy based on craft status, and in widening the sectional sub-divisions within the industrial workforce. For Musson the labour aristocracy was the natural outcome of a differentialism based on customary observance and sectional power. The points raised above are clearly germane to the conditions of work experienced by the glassmaking artisans.

If Pelling's attribution concerning a pre-industrial aristocracy of labour is correct, does it include glassmakers and thereby invalidate Hobsbawm's assertion that the labour aristocracy was a creation of the post-industrial period? More crucially, perhaps, is the evidence concerning the Foster/Musson controversy. For instance, in the light of that debate does one interpret the rise of trade unionism among artisan glassmakers as a defensive response to the gradualism of change or the militant assertion of traditional attitudes in response^P to the imposed challenge to custom-based trade observance?

(ii) level and regularity of earnings

In terms of comparative earning power with both skilled and unskilled manual labourers during the mid-Victorian period and beyond, the artisan glassmakers were undoubtedly a wage-earning elite. The extent to which high earning power was reflected in the basic day wage or a consequence of the dual system of wage calculation in which piecework rates were paid for 'overwork' is a factor for analysis below but the ability to increase earnings considerably by the application of a system of dual calculation may not only explain its origin but also the acceptance of a 'pacemaking' role by the glassmaking artisans. Such supposition tends to suggest that Hobsbawm's economic determinism has some validity as far as the case concerning artisan glassmakers is concerned and further, that in the acceptance of the pacemaking role

artisans were, however unwittingly, substantiating the claims made by Foster. Stedman-Jones, however, whilst accepting Foster's premise of changed industrial behaviour from the mid-nineteenth century, ascribes a more psychological explanation for its existence.⁹ As a result of the threat to the economic position of the industrial artisan posed by burgeoning technology, argues Stedman-Jones, a growing feeling of vulnerability was engendered among the organised ranks of the skilled labour force. Stedman-Jones regards the development of joint negotiations centred on wage bargaining by sectional interest groups as the natural corollary of technological advance in the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Whilst generally dismissive of Foster's claims for pacemaking as a ploy of the capitalists, it is interesting to note that Stedman-Jones acknowledges the existence of such a manifestation in the cotton industry where familial relationship was a feature of the compositional nature of the workforce. The known pattern of the familial relationship within the glass industry as a factor promoting change in the pace of production therefore requires some consideration here.

(iii) general living conditions

The standard of living of the artisan glassmakers is, of course, basically allied to the level and regularity of earnings, although factors such as the profligacy of many glassworkers together with the level of real wages as opposed to money wages are also influential considerations. It seems probable that with the onset of trade depression and the threat from the direct application of machinery to the process of container production, circa 1880, the wages and, ipso facto, standard of living of glassmaking artisans suffered some diminution, albeit masked by the increase in real wage levels. Such a hypothesis if substantiated could well be explained by the rising level of unemployment within a trade where seasonal fluctuation resulted in considerable artisan unemployment, particularly in winter months, even at periods when trade was good. The probable fall in the artisan standard of living post 1880 could also explain the changing pattern of social and industrial relations as the transformation to the process of production engendered by machine technology shifted the balance of trade control at the point of production.

(iv) prospects of social security

The struggle for control of the forces of production arising from the Stedman-Jones thesis is an important, perhaps the most important,

feature of the study of trade unionism within the Yorkshire glass industry for it raises issues concerning not only the formulation of new industrial strategies but of the re-organisation of trade unions themselves in order to render the adopted strategies more effective and thereby ensure the continued industrial and social security of the members. Such a trend may be observed in the adoption of 'New Model' forms of union organisation about the mid-nineteenth century and the wide ranging welfare benefit provision associated with such forms of unionism. How effective such change was and at what cost to the traditional concept of primitive democracy are points requiring examination in this study. Also, to what extent^t did the provision of welfare benefits not only modify the industrial policies of the unions and to what extent did such provision reflect a desire for public approbation and/or the means of recruitment of all artisans within the trade through the projection of social security and public respectability? If the latter consideration has any validity it suggests the attempt to secure control of the trade and thereby the maintainance^o of the socio-economic status of the artisan members by means of a closed shop policy.

The extent to which provision of welfare benefits may have overburdened the financial systems of the trade societies, particularly in the face of changing technology, severe competition and economic recession is also an important consideration, for not only does it imply adverse consequences for the social security of the membership, but, I would suggest, was an important factor in promoting the decline and eventual demise of the artisan unions.

(v) prospects of future advancement

A study by Robert Grey^a concerning the labour aristocracy in late Victorian Edinburgh has indicated that the key dimension within the concept was the authority of the workplace.¹⁰ The indications concerning the Yorkshire based artisan glassmakers would seem to substantiate Grey's assumption. Chair hierarchy based on the conferment of craft authority by means of gradual progression through the stages of the trade is an indication of such advancement. While the process of serving an apprenticeship in itself ensured a degree of automatic promotion within the stages of the trade, it by no means ensured permanent or even regular employment for time-served journeymen. This was especially the case from the 1880s, when, following the boom of the previous decade in which the trade had absorbed a considerable number of journeymen and apprentices, the trade depression resulted in

many surplus hands, thus producing high levels of artisan unemployment. Technological factors were also influential in curtailing the prospects of promotion within the trade for new hand tools made for easier assimilation of trade skills by apprentices and also boosted their productive capacity. It therefore became quite common for an employer to dismiss a newly qualified journeyman in favour of a scarcely less productive but more economical apprentice. While chair hierarchy was crucial to self-advancement, abstract qualities such as sobriety, integrity, and the respect of one's employer as well as one's fellow workers was important. Such qualities combined with skill to determine artisan suitability for advancement beyond that of chair functionalism.

Suitability for regular employment, office within the union, or managerial position were all based as much on respectability of character as on craft skill. The latter aspect was most important for it was widely regarded as a stepping-stone to partnership or proprietorship which in turn often led to public office and enhanced social and economic status. How frequent were the opportunities for such advancement throughout the changes within the trade over the period examined by this study is a question which arises. At the other end of the trade spectrum is the question of ease of entry into the trade and, having obtained entry, selection for apprenticeship. What was the degree of wastage of labour within the trade and what measures were taken by the unions to obviate conditions restricting trade and social advancement?

(vi) relationship with the upper and lower orders

Grey has expostulated the development of a wider social identity by the labour aristocrats of the late-nineteenth century and has allied the authoritarianism of the workplace to suggest domination of social institutions by the labour elite, thus assuring them the leadership of the social and political aspirations of the whole working class. Hinton has also noted the growth of working class consciousness during the second quarter of the nineteenth century and the emergence of an articulate labour aristocracy which dominated working class attitudes until the last decade of the century.¹¹ Hinton subscribes to the view of Hobsbawm and Foster that a social barrier existed between the upper and lower stratum of manual workers but regards the craft exclusivity which characterised the labour aristocracy as the causal factor.

Sectional exclusiveness, claims Hinton, prevented the elite workers from genuinely representing the views of the underprivileged, unskilled manual labourers. The Lib-Labism of the mid-Victorian period is seen by Hinton as the inevitable outcome of compromise and co-operation by the labour aristocracy with the bourgeoisie middle class, a policy anathema to the more radical lower class residuum. How relevant are such claims to the situation concerning the artisan elite within the Yorkshire glass industry? Matsumura's study indicated the endorsement of Lib-Labism by the flint glassmakers pre 1880 but in his study of the lock-out of 1893 involving the glass bottle makers of Yorkshire, Brundage produced evidence of radical political activism from the late 1880s, resulting in the formulation of an independent working class labour movement at Castleford.¹² Brundage ascribes the apparent transition from exclusive sectionalism to working class leadership as a consequence of the deterioration in local working conditions and the adverse nature of industrial relations in preceeding decades, but also notes an underlying radicalism within the rank and file of the glassmaking artisans which may have influenced union attitudes over a period of time. The role of trade union leaders is an important point of consideration in explaining the socio-political attitudes during the second half of the nineteenth century. Musson, in refuting Foster's assertion of the labour aristocracy as the tool by which the ruling class insinuated its ideology and value system on the hapless workers, presents the labour leaders as cautious, prudent men, seeking to attain fulfilment of their aims through gradual reform yet quite willing to sanction strikes or support radical action when such courses were deemed appropriate.

To what extent then did the concentration of a centralised union administration in the hands of a minority of executive officers represent a microcosmic 'super-elite' and did the existence of such power groups indicate a sectionalist negation of wider working class aspirations and the acceptance of middle class ideology or alternatively, represent the vanguard of gradualist reform and working class homogeneity? The history of the artisan glassmakers suggests that a lingering element of pre-industrial paternalism assisted by a period of trade prosperity may have fostered a degree of mutual regard between employer and men during the early period of this study. The period was also one in which the expanding industry facilitated the transition from artisan to manufacturer, thereby reinforcing the common bond of craftsmanship. From the mid 1870s, however, the

attitude of the manufacturers hardened and with the establishment of an Employers' Trade Association and the adoption of a deliberate policy designed to destroy the unions, the division between capital and labour became increasingly pronounced, culminating in the conflict of 1893 in which the whole regional labour movement cohesed to defeat the glass manufacturers. The extent to which this development marked a permanent departure from the narrow sectionalism of craft exclusivity and the completion of the emergent process of working class social consciousness remains to be analysed. The foregoing summary of the labour aristocracy debate leads to a number of major hypotheses which I wish to explore in the course of my research.

(a) Hypothesis

Synthesis of the principal points arising from the debate on the labour aristocracy and the points of known relevance emerging from initial examination of data concerning the Yorkshire based artisan glassmakers indicate the following areas of hypothesis:

(i) Whilst the Yorkshire artisans appear to fulfil the definitive requirements to enable them to be regarded as labour aristocrats, and most significantly with regard to the economic dimension postulated by Hobsbawm, is there any evidence to substantiate the opinion of Pelling and Musson that the privileged status of the artisan was a continuation of an earlier pre-industrial era rather than the unique manifestation of nineteenth century urban industrialisation? Could, for instance, the artisan glassmakers' emphasis on custom-based observance and traditional work methodology betoken fundamental acknowledgement of such primordial status?

(ii) Granted the assumption of socio-economic pre-eminence among artisan glassmakers prior to the advent of urban industrialisation it would seem that the development of craft-based trade unionism occurred in consequence of the transformation of the industry as a result of the establishment of urban glass-works from the third decade of the nineteenth century. Did the intrusive forces of rationalisation and technical innovation pose a threat to the life-style of the glassmaking artisans which could

only be met by the cohesion of organised labour? Furthermore, was the adoption of New Model Unionism from the mid nineteenth century an acknowledgement of the ineffectuality of traditional systems of artisan control of the trade and a recognition of the need for new industrial strategies based on centralisation to ensure the maintainance of craft elitism through the control of the system of production?

(iii) To what extent were elemental forms of primitive democracy redolent of early day unionism sacrificed or supressed as a result of the adoption of centralism by the artisan unions? What was the consequence of the transformation in terms of grass roots radicalism and its influence both within and beyond the sphere of union organisation?

(iv) The intensification of foreign and domestic competition from the mid 1870s seems to have been instrumental in the establishment of formal trade associations by the Yorkshire manufacturers in order to counter the power of organised labour. What was the nature and effect of strategies designed by the employers to destroy the unions and what the response of organised labour to such strategies are questions to be resolved in this study?

(v) How far the above measures promoted or were effected by an emergent crisis in union finances is another problematical area? Was the financial crisis largely as a result of actuarial inexperience? What implications did the combination of high levels of artisan unemployment and financial constraint have for industrial relations, particularly with regard to union militancy post 1880? Also, what was the effect of a more militant attitude exhibited by glassmakers from that date on working class

cohesion and ideology and how was this evident in areas such as local and national politics and inter-union co-operation.

(vi) What factors were evident in the new phase of industrial co-operation which occurred circa 1900 and to what extent did the 'golden' age of manual production underlying artisan status conceal the interaction of external market forces and inherent weakness in the structure of craft-based unionism?

(vii) Did the new phase of machine-based production, circa 1905, result in the gradual abandonment of craft exclusivity? Why did the attempts of the unions to regain control of production by capturing the new technology fail? What other strategies did the Unions adopt to meet the impact of changing technology and the threat this posed to artisan status?

(b) Sources

In their classic work 'Industrial Democracy',¹³ the Webbs indicated the significance of the glassmakers unions as major elements within the sphere of organised artisan labour. The Webbs were particularly fulsome in their references to material concerning the National Flint Glass Makers Society which they obtained from the pages of the Flint Glass Makers Magazine. The magazine was published quarterly in an almost unbroken sequence between 1850 and 1902¹⁴ and was described by the Webbs as "the best of trade publications".¹⁵ The Webbs assertion is challenged by the Quarterly Reports of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire which commencing in June 1865 ran in unbroken sequence until 1919.¹⁶

Given the circumstances arising from the decline and demise of the craft based societies of the glass artisans the whereabouts of both runs of trade reports were lost until recent years; the Flint Glass Magazines were lost to academic use sometime between Sandeland's study of the Midlands Glass Industry in 1929 and their re-discovery by Dr. Eric Taylor in 1972.¹⁷ In the case of the Reports of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers, the volumes in existence at the commence-

ment of this study seemed to be confined to a few volumes belonging to the Joint Library of Glass Technology, Sheffield, and to several volumes in private ownership.¹⁸ In the course of my research I was fortunate to locate Mr. Ken Wright, then Glass Section Officer of the T. & G. W. Union, Yorkshire region, who had custody of an almost unbroken sequence of G.B.Ms Quarterly Reports covering the years 1861 to 1910.¹⁹ In addition the T. & G. W. Union archives consisted of sundry Minute Books of the G.B.Ms Executive Council, together with other miscellaneous books and papers formerly belonging to the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire United Trade Protection Society. The T. & G. W. Union were also in possession of a complete run of Flint Glass Makers Magazines covering the years 1853 to 1902 at which date the Yorkshire districts of the National Flint Glass Makers Society broke away from the parent body to establish the National Glass Bottle Makers Society. The Reports of the schismatic Society for the years 1903 to 1916 are also part of the T. & G. W. Union collection and are further supplemented by the Membership Registers of the National Glass Workers Trade Protection Association which was formed in 1920 by the merger of the G.B.M.Y.T.P. Society and the N.G.B.M. Society. The T. & G. W. Union archives also contain several Half-yearly reports of the North of England Glass Bottle Makers Society and even more valuable in terms of the early history of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers, Reports of the Glass Bottle Makers of Great Britain and Ireland Trade Protection Society, the earliest amalgamation of regional glass bottle makers societies, in existence between 1859 - 1961.

The wealth of trade union material is supplemented by several valuable theses, such as those by Matsumura, Brundage and Brown²⁰, dealing directly with the glass industry, and those of Duffy and Crowley²¹ which provide insight into the political attitude of British labour during the mid-Victorian and Edwardian era. In addition, reference is made to a wide range of articles concerning socio-historical and technological developments within the glass industry, particularly those contained in the Journal of the Society of Glass Technology, as well as various newspaper articles and reports. Finally, some of the facts and conclusions concerning sundry aspects of the trade during the late period of this study are drawn from oral evidence provided by former members of the glassmaking fraternity who, at the commencement of this study, were a vanishing breed and have now, alas, departed from the scene.

INTRODUCTION

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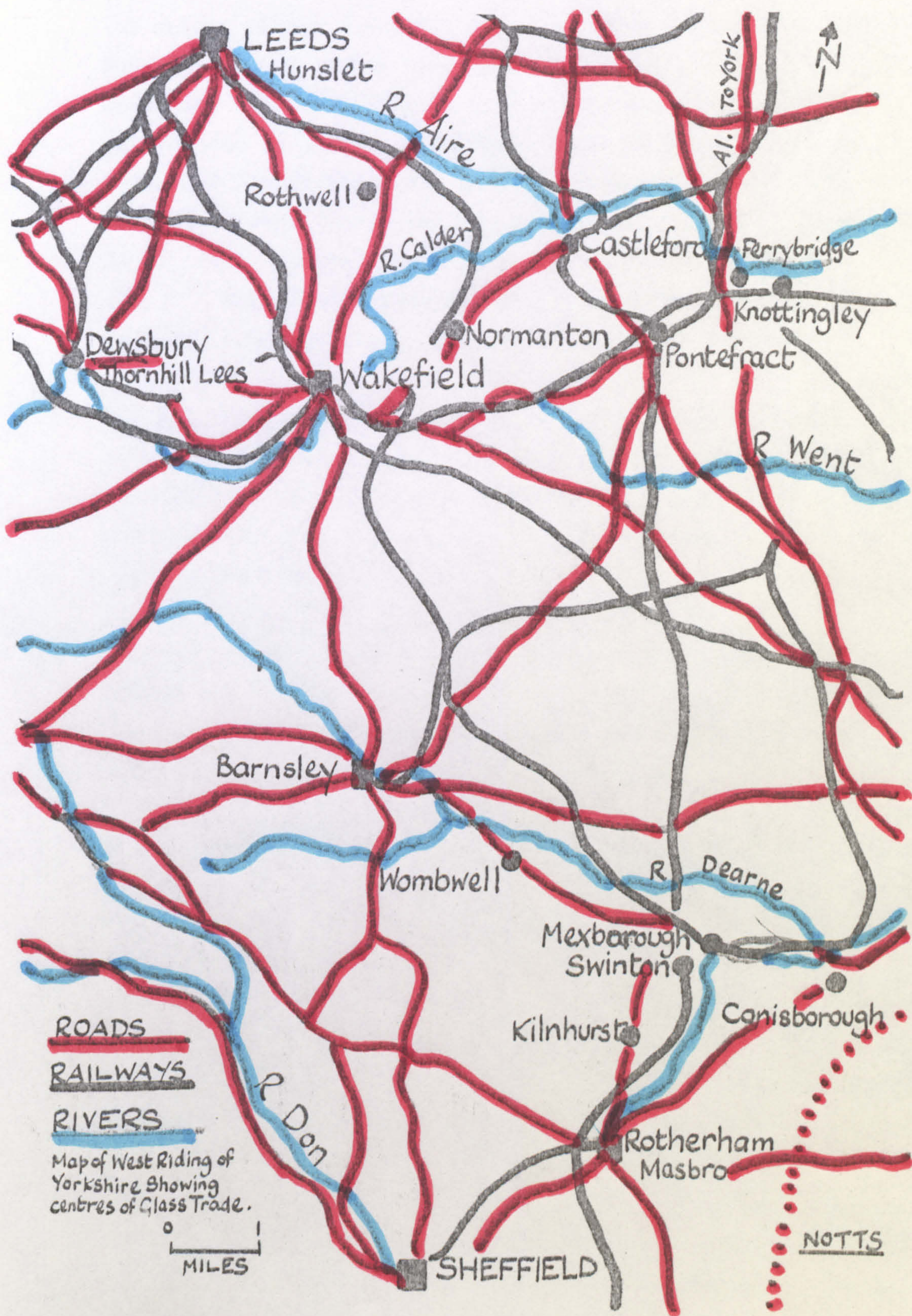
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SECTION ONE

GROWTH AND CONSOLIDATION

1840 - 1880.



CHAPTER ONE:

THE GROWTH OF THE YORKSHIRE GLASS INDUSTRY CIRCA 1840 - 1880

(a) Location of the Yorkshire Glass Industry.

The origin of the Yorkshire glass industry lies in the sixteenth century.¹ Hunter states that sometime between 1593 and 1641 a glasshouse was situated at Wentworth² and in 1696, John Houghton listed 88 glasshouses in England and Wales, three of which, Silkstone, Bolderstone and Ferrybridge were manufacturing glass on a commercial basis.³ By 1720, Gawber Glassworks had been established, followed by Rothwell Haigh, 1726, Engine Glasshouse, 1738, Catcliffe, 1740 and Wisby Moor, 1751.⁴ Rotherham Glassworks were also established in 1751, followed by York, 1794, Hunslet, 1804 and Worsbroughdale, 1828.⁵

The glasshouses were of conical design in which not only did the high brick cone act as a giant chimney, creating a strong updraught to maintain the centrally housed furnace at a high temperature, but also provided the work area in the space between the furnace and the outer wall of the cone.⁶

Locational determinants in the siting of the early day Yorkshire glasshouses were access to the swift navigable rivers, semi-rural seclusion, and an abundance of natural materials such as sand, limestone and leadbearing ores, necessary for glass production.⁷

The development of the Yorkshire industry occurred during the transitional phase from wood-fuelled to coal-fired furnaces and the availability of coal supplies became a fundamental consideration in the siting of glasshouses from the eighteenth century. The development of the West Riding coalfield from the second half of the eighteenth century, together with improvements to the system of inland waterways and linked to the existing coastal trade of the eastern seaboard provided Yorkshire glass manufacturers with economic advantages denied to their trade rivals in Bristol and Lancashire which were unable to match Yorkshire glassworks for productive economy and speed of delivery.⁸ The rising demand for glass containers, together with the more favourable excise duty levied on bottles as compared to other spheres of glass production⁹ resulted in a gradual shift by Yorkshire manufacturers during the eighteenth century from the production of flint glass table and domestic ware, and window glass, towards

increasing manufacture of bottles, previously a minor area of production.¹⁰ The glasshouse at Rothwell Haigh took advantage of the sea-borne trade to manufacture bottles exclusively for the London market,¹¹ and by 1790 black bottles made at Gawber works were described as

"... superior to any of the kind elsewhere"¹²

Thus, by the last quarter of the eighteenth century there were emergent indications of the specialisation which was to characterise the Yorkshire glass industry during the following century for not only were manufacturers able to take advantage of the increasing volume of traffic on the waterways to obtain supplies of raw materials, such as sand and limestone,¹³ but also of local coal, particularly that obtained from the middle seams of the Yorkshire coalfield which was especially suitable for glass manufacture. Even the less suitable coal found in the lower measures was mined not only, but also in conjunction with, fireclay suitable for the construction of furnace pots and other refractory use, thus obviating the need for supplies of the diminishing and increasingly expensive Stourbridge clay.¹⁴

The construction of the canals, particularly those of West Yorkshire in the early decades of the nineteenth century not only supplemented the natural waterways but also provided direct access to the heartland of the coalfield and thereby further increased the economic advantage of the County's glass manufacturers. Canal construction, whilst initially reducing costs and expanding the markets of existing glassworks, was in the long-term a major determinant in the location of new works. Unlike the situation in the Midlands, where the location of glassworks dictated the course of canal construction, it was canals dug to serve the coalfield which dictated the eventual location and the area specialisation of the Yorkshire glass industry.¹⁵

As early as the mid-eighteenth century Rotherham Glassworks was established at Masbro to take advantage of the canal access provided by the River Don Navigation project.¹⁶ The exertive influence of the coalfield is clearly evident when it is remembered that by the mid-nineteenth century the ratio of coal per ton of glass was 8:1, an amount far exceeding the ratio of other raw materials¹⁷ and indicating why transportation of raw materials being the prime consideration governing the production costs, it was economically sound to site glassworks alongside waterways running through the middle of the Yorkshire coalfields.

The demise of most of the early glasshouses by the advent of the nineteenth century was largely due to geographical disadvantage or the failure to adapt to the changing circumstances of trade, for the criteria for successful glass manufacture was the availability of coal at economic prices and astute business management.¹⁸ For this reason glassworks such as Bolderstone, Silkstone and Wisby Moor, situated on the less suitable coal measures were unable to compete economically with those at Ferrybridge, Rotherham and Hunslet, which in addition to positional advantage vis a vis the coalfields, were also served by a better transport system.¹⁹ Favourable geographical location was not, however, an automatic guarantee of commercial success. Realisation of the economic advantages of specialised production was of considerable importance but trade specialisation required both practical and commercial knowledge of the glass trade for the increase in the excise duty on glass bottles after 1770 made bottle manufacture less profitable than before and was probably influential in persuading manufacturers to continue with product diversification.²⁰

The Leeds-based Engine Glassworks for example specialised in the manufacture of Crown window glass to cater for local demand. Yet although having the advantages of market proximity and direct connection with the coal trade, the owner of the works lacked the practical knowledge of his Newcastle based rivals and was never able to monopolise the market in the way that the Hunslet based Bower family were able to do a decade later.²¹ Likewise, the Gawber works, although specialising in the production of black bottles

"... esteemed of an excellent quality"²²

and linked to an adjacent colliery by common ownership was nevertheless unable to survive beyond the second decade of the nineteenth century.

The establishment of the Bowers at Hunslet in 1804 marks the beginning of the modern era of glass production in Yorkshire, for the Hunslet glassworks marked an architectural and psychological break with tradition.²³ By 1833, the Bowers worked four glasshouses in Hunslet and had warehouses in Leeds, Liverpool, Manchester and London. The very success of the Bowers in monopolising local trade had the effect of driving would-be competitors away from the immediate vicinity of the Bower works. Thus, when in 1829, a group of Bowers employees commenced the manufacture of glass bottles, the site they chose was at Castleford, thereby ensuring that Castleford, rather than Leeds, ultimately became the seat of the Yorkshire glass trade.

By the mid 1840s at least five other glasshouses had been established at Castleford, providing a nucleus for others throughout the County.²⁴ The emergent locational pattern of the Yorkshire glass industry was clearly defined, clinging to the county waterways in four areas of linear concentration. In West Yorkshire, the Aire Valley between Leeds and Knottingley and along the Calder Valley between Wakefield and Dewsbury, marked the two areas of potential development. To the south of the County the Don Valley between Conisborough and Rotherham and the Dove-Dearn Valley between Barnsley and Wath, were the lines of geographical concentration. Only York, situated on the River Ouse, was an exception to the developmental pattern.²⁵

(b) Factory Establishment.

In 1829, four glass workers from the flint glass works of J. Bower & Sons, Hunslet, established a glasshouse on the site of a disused pewter furnace at Whitwood Mere, Castleford.²⁶ Despite the restrictions of the Excise and the fact that the West Riding coalfield had not yet extended as far east as Castleford, the Black Flagg glasshouse prospered, for the development of the Aire and Calder Navigation a few years earlier had considerably enhanced the commercial potential of the locality.²⁷ As a result, Castleford, a small village situated in a half mile stretch between the Parish Church and the Aire bridge, along the north bank of the River Aire near its confluence with the Calder, and with a traditional maritime connection, was by 1822, "a place of considerable trade."²⁸

The waterways provided cheap transportation for coal and other raw materials such as sand and limestone, readily available in the vicinity or easily accessible by means of the coastal trade connected with the hinterland via the ports of Hull and Goole.²⁹ About this time the chemical processing of 'black ash' soda was exerting a beneficial economic influence upon the manufacture of glass and by 1832, a second bottle house was established at the Black Flagg works.³⁰ In 1834, a second factory was constructed, when James Winterbottom, one of the artisans forming the Black Flagg partnership³¹ withdrew from the Mere works and, in conjunction with Dr. Jessup, a local medical practitioner, purchased four acres of land at Ryebread from Lord Houghton, at a cost of £495, and built the Aire and Calder Glass Bottle works.³² John Lumb, a local butcher and James William Simpson a journeyman glassworker, established the York and North Midland Glassworks in 1842, when, following the introduction of the railway to the town, in 1839, the facility for a rapid economic alternative system of transport was made available.

The effect of the railway system was to derestrict the location of the town glassworks from the immediate vicinity of the waterway and as a result of the construction of sidings to facilitate the handling of goods and materials, glassworks began to appear along the length of Albion Street and High Street during the 1850s. Nor was the development of the container industry confined to the emergent township of Castleford. In 1844, John Kilner and his sons left the town and taking over the flint glassworks established by Noah Turner at Thornhill Lees in 1830, made it into a bottle works.³³ Turner had previously worked at the Rotherham Glassworks³⁴ and it was from the same factory that other artisans migrated to establish bottle works at Swinton and Mexborough about 1850.³⁵ In 1864, another branch of the Kilner family established a glassworks at Wakefield, while a further factory had opened at Kilnhurst at this period. The inadequate nature of data sources concerning the number of glassworks in operation between 1840 and 1870 makes accurate calculation impossible. To add to the confusion, problems arise through lack of definition between a glass works and a glasshouse.³⁶ In addition, the existence of innumerable cribshops in the developing centres of glass production, particularly during the Excise period, when such places were unlicensed and therefore illegal, operating as far as possible in secrecy, is a further complicating factor,³⁷ while the lapse of time between data collection and its publication allowed no cognisance of changing circumstance, such as partnership dissolution and reformation and its accompanying element of factory closure and re-establishment.

Yet another element of confused identity arises from nomenclature of individual glassworks which frequently resulted in duplication of glassworks in the same data source.³⁸ Perhaps the most valid assessment of the number of factories operational in Yorkshire between 1830 - 1875 is that of Turner who states that there were ten in existence in 1833, a figure which had doubled by 1850 and rose to twenty nine by the latter ¹⁸⁷⁵ date.³⁹ These figures compare with those of Table 1-1 and Table 1-2 which show a total of 19 factories manufacturing bottles in 1868,⁴⁰ and 23 factories engaged in bottle manufacture in January 1873⁴¹, the discrepancies in numbers being presumably accounted for by small works engaged solely in the production of flint glass wares and therefore beyond the present basis of calculation. With the establishment of Knottingley glassworks in the 1870s, the pattern of local development as outlined in Section (a) Supra was complete, marking the culmination of the first and most notable phase of expan-

TABLE 1:1

TABLE 1:1 SHOWING NAMES AND LOCATION OF YORKSHIRE GLASSWORKS AND
NUMBER OF HOLES WORKING AND GLASS BOTTLE HANDS EMPLOYED,
JUNE 1868

LOCATION	FIRM	No. BOTTLE HOLES	HANDS EMPLOYED		
			WORKING	APPS'	JM TOTAL
Castleford	E. Breffit & Co.	43	52	79	131
	Sykes Mackay Co.	21	22	41	63
	J. Lumb & Co.	12	11	27	38
	J. Morton & Co.	18	22	34	56
	J. Smith & Co.	4	5	8	13
Hunslet	J. Scott & Co.	12	21	16	37
	W. Brookes	9	11	17	28
Mexbro	J. Bullock & Co.	12	8	28	36
	T. Barron & Co.	4	7	5	12
Swinton	Sth Yorks' Bottle Co.	14	16	28	44
Kilnhurst	Blunn & Co.	5	4	12	16
Masbro	W. Beatson & Co.	10	7	23	30
Ferrybridge	E. Breffit & Co.	8	3	21	24
Barnsley	Redfern Bros.	6	12	7	19
Thornhill Lees	Kilner Bros.	35	42	63	105
Conisbro	Kilner Bros.	15	10	36	46
Wakefield	J. Kilner	8	1	23	24
Ardsley	B. Rylands	5	2	13	15
York	York Bottle Co.	10	22	8	30

Source: G.B.M. Reports Volume I page 31

TABLE 1:2 SHOWS NAME AND LOCATION OF FIRMS WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATIVE AREA OF THE GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS OF YORKSHIRE TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY, No. OF BOTTLE HOUSES WORKING AND STANDING, No. OF BOTTLE HOLES WORKING AND TYPE OF FURNACE, No. OF HANDS EMPLOYED DECEMBER 22nd 1872

LOCATION	NAME OF FIRM	SITES	No. GLASS BOTTLE HOUSES				TYPE OF FURNACE		No. OF HANDS EMPLOYED						
									No. OF BOTTLE HOLES						
			WORKING	STAN'	TOTAL	4POT	6POT	TANK	WORKING	APP'	JM	TOTAL			
CASTLEFORD	E. Breffitt & Co.	Ryebread	7	1	8	7	-	-	7	29	22	65	87		
		Black Flags	2	-	2	2	-	-	2	8	5	19	24		
		Ashtons	2	-	2	2	-	-	2	8	4	20	24		
	Sykes Macvey & Co.	Old Yard	3	-	3	3	-	-	3	13	4	35	39		
		New Yard	4	-	4	2	2	-	4	23	16	53	69		
	J. Lumb & Co.	Old Yard	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	4	2	10	12		
		New Yard	4	-	4	4	-	-	4	17	7	44	51		
	Cheesbrough Phillips & Co.		4	-	4	4	-	-	4	17	11	40	51		
		Hardy & Rickard	2	-	2	2	-	-	2	8	4	20	24		
	J. 'Hardwick	Mersey Works	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Brittania Works		-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
TOTALS			6	11	29	3	32	27	2	-	29	127	75	306	381
MEXBRO	Bullock & Co. T. Barron & Sons		3	-	3	3	2	-	3	13	6	33	39		
		2	-	2	2	-	-	2	8	11	13	24			
TOTALS			2	2	8	-	8	8	-	-	8	21	17	46	63
HUNSLET	Alexander & Austen Wm. Brooks		2	1	3	2	2	-	2	8	15	9	24		
		2	-	2	2	-	-	2	8	4	20	24			
TOTALS			2	2	4	1	5	4	-	-	4	16	19	29	48
WOMBWELL	N. Lister Dickensons & Hall		1	1	1	1	1	-	1	4	2	10	12		
		1	1	1	1	-	-	1	3	1	8	9			
TOTALS			2	2	2	-	2	2	-	-	2	7	3	18	21
ROTHERHAM	Beatson & Co. Stn Yorkshire CB Co.		1	2	2	2	2	-	2	10	4	26	30		
		1	3	-	3	3	-	-	3	13	5	34	39		
FERRYBRIDGE	E. Breffitt & Co.		11	2	2	2	2	-	2	8	4	20	24		
KNOTTINGLEY	J. W. Bagley & Co.		1	1	1	1	-	-	1	4	-	12	12		
THORNHILL LEES	Kilner Bros.		1	8	1	9	4	-	4	26	20	58	78		
WAKEFIELD	J. Kilner		1	3	3	3	3	-	3	12	9	27	36		
BARNLEY	Redfern Bros		1	2	2	2	2	-	2	8	6	18	24		
ARDSLEY	B. Rylands		1	1	1	1	1	-	1	5	3	12	15		
CONISBRO	Kilner Bros.		1	4	1	5	2	2	4	20	10	50	60		
KILNHURST	Blunn Bros.		1	1	1	1	1	-	1	5	3	12	15		
YORK	Hutchinson & Spence		1	2	2	2	2	-	2	11	23	10	33		
GRAND TOTAL			23	28	69	6	75	61	8	-	69	293	201	678	879

sion in the Yorkshire container trade which occurred between 1830 and 1880.

(c) The Dimensions of Expansion.

The number of establishments engaged in container production in Yorkshire increased by two thirds between 1841 and 1861, resulting in a four-fold increase in the overall workforce from 5.5% of the national total to 10.2% by the latter date.⁴² Of the percentage increase during the twenty year period, the second decade witnessed an increase of 3.0%. The expansion in the Yorkshire workforce was increased by a further 6.5% during the following twenty year period, some 4-7% of which occurred during the boom of the 1870s, giving a gross percentage increase of 11.2% for the years 1841 - 1881 and increasing the County's share of the national workforce to 16.7% and boosting it from seventh to third in the number employed within the eight major areas of glass production as identified by Brown.⁴³ In terms of productive units, this expansion ensured that by 1860 the County was predominant in container manufacture, producing 50% of bottles made nationally by 1860.⁴⁴

The expansion of the container trade was of a three fold nature. The combination of artisan skill allied to private capital and business experience was a feature of those establishments which were to become the largest, and generally, more technically progressive. Typical of such firms were those of Edgar Breffit & Co., Sykes & Macvay and John Lumb of Castleford, together with Alexander & Austin, Hunslet. A second group which blended elements of entrepreneurial capital and craft skill was that comprised of firms such as Beatson & Co., Rotherham, Wood Bros., Barnsley, Spence & Hutchinson, York. The second category, however, may be distinguished from the former group as examples of traditional flint manufacturers who, influenced by the area container specialisation, gradually transferred much of their production to container manufacture, whilst maintaining an element of miscellaneous flint glassware. A third category embraces those establishments founded on limited capital, usually as a result of thrifty artisans pooling their financial resources, or alternatively, developing from small crib shops following the repeal of the Excise duties. Of the third group the most outstanding in terms of durability and progressive outlook are those of Kilner & Sons, Thornhill Lees and Conisbrough; Rylands and Redferns of Barnsley and Bagley & Co., Knottingley. It is self-evident that while the above categories are

valid, a degree of generality applies in that all types of establishment required a combination of capital investment and practical skill.

Table 1:2 shows the effect of industrial expansion by the capital based firms during the period 1850 - 1870. During the 1850s Breffit & Co. extended their premises to incorporate sites previously worked by other small artisan based companies which had become defunct through insufficient capital or lack of business acumen to combat the demand of capricious trade. By the mid 1860s, therefore, Breffitts' works comprised the original Ryebread site, together with the Black Flagg and Ashton factories and in addition, leased the Ferrybridge works from Sir John Ramsden. By 1870 the firm was the largest in the United Kingdom, covering 20 acres and employing over one hundred bottle hands (together with an unrecorded number of flint hands) and producing about 60,000 bottles per day.⁴⁵ Sykes and Macvay and John Lumb & Co. both operated from dual sites, as did J. Hardwick & Co. who also traded from a third industrial base in Swinton. The family-based firm, Kilners, also spread its trading operations from Thornhill Lees to Conisbrough during this period, with a separate branch based at Wakefield.⁴⁶

The significance of multi-site production may be found in the trade conditions of the period when widening middle (and later) working class consumption arising in consequence of growing urbanisation and lower prices of glass ware following the Excise repeal of 1845 engendered a rising market demand.⁴⁷ While some firms responded to the market demand by the construction of new bottle houses with six pot furnaces replacing the traditional four pot ones commonly found within the County, most Yorkshire manufacturers responded with the purchase or lease of existing sites.⁴⁸ The policy of site acquisition was far more economical for the manufacturer in that it enabled an almost immediate response to trade demand, whereas expansion involving the construction of new buildings was both protracted and costly. Furthermore, being a labour-intensive trade, output was easily regulated in accordance with the state of the market, being maximised at little additional cost through exploitation of the overwork system (cf Chapter 2 Section (c) ii). In the event of a downturn in trade men could be stood down at little cost to the employer, the onus for unemployment relief being placed on the Unions. The situation was preferable to the necessity of raising vast sums of capital in order to undertake on-site construction of new plant which, apart from involving fixed overheads, also ran the risk of becoming redundant before completion in the event

of declining trade.

By 1872, the Yorkshire glass industry had undergone a process of expansion which had transformed it from its small scale origins. This was particularly the case of Castleford where, of the six factories in existence in that year, none had less than two furnaces and four consisted of four or more bottle houses, Breffits having seven on their Ryebread site alone. At that time over 69% of journeymen and apprentice bottle hands constituting the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers Union were employed at Castleford factories, the three largest of which employed a respective workforce between 200 - 300.⁵⁰

Extant data, although of a sparse fragmentary nature, does provide some indication of growth pattern, revealing the slow, initially small scale development of individual works, widening out from the 1850s, and expanding quite rapidly throughout the 1860s. In 1850, Breffit & Co. employed 80 men and 58 boys, together with 4 girls.⁵¹ By 1868, as Table 1-1 shows, the number of skilled artisans and their apprentices almost equalled the total workforce of a dozen years before.⁵² John Lumb & Co. employed 16 artisans and 15 boys in 1850⁵³ and although the Table indicates an increase of only seven by 1868,⁵⁴ the number had risen to 63 some 4 years later.⁵⁵ In 1855, Castleford possessed 14 of the County's bottle houses and by 1862 when the County's total had increased to 44, there were 18 at Castleford.⁵⁶ In the mid 1860s the number of bottle houses in the town had increased by five as a result of rapid construction undertaken in response to favourable trade conditions during the two previous years,⁵⁷ and by 1872, of the 75 bottle houses within Yorkshire, 32 were sited at Castleford works.⁵⁸ Throughout the entire period 1855 - 1870, the number of factories at Castleford remained fairly constant, being 5 - 6 in number, a fact which indicates that the changing pattern of ownership and physical expansion which took place from the mid 1850s was undertaken within the confines of existing sites rather than in the establishment of new factories.⁵⁹ In this respect the trend was set by Breffits who by the early 1850s were trading from three separate factory sites at Castleford. The impact of the glass industry is evident upon the township, the population rising from 2,000 - 10,000 within the thirty years following the introduction of the industry to the town in 1829, many new inhabitants being drawn to the town from the surrounding rural areas by the new industry.⁶⁰

As Table 1-2 shows, within the remainder of the County trade, the small-scale pattern of industry was still largely evident in 1872, although a proliferation of small firms is discernable from the 1860s with Mexbro, Wombwell and Hunslet each with two factories producing common bottles. By 1872, only 5 of the 23 Yorkshire glass bottle factories consisted of single furnace sites, while a further eight had two furnaces each.⁶¹ Three firms had three furnaces, while Kilner Bros. probably the most innovative company at that time, had factories at Thornhill Lees and Conisbro, each of which were 4 furnace sites, the one at Thornhill Lees being the first gas-fired regenerative tank furnace to be installed within any Yorkshire glassworks.⁶² Naturally, the increase in the number of bottle houses arising from the expansion in furnace capacity engendered an increase in the workforce in the general order of 12.7% during the years 1868 - 72. Comparison of Table 1-1 and Table 1-2 supra, shows, however, that such expansion was confined to about half of the branches of the trade, with four, Hunslet, Swinton, Kilnhurst and Thornhill Lees, experiencing contraction of the labour force and Masbro, Ferrybridge and Barnsley retaining a consistent level. Comparison of the data concerning the hands employed indicates a significant diminishment in the ratio of apprentices to journeymen during the period and it is this fact which explains the decreasing tendency rather than lack of physical growth. Evidence of the latter is clearly seen by reference to the number of bottle holes working. At only one location (Hunslet) had any reduction occurred despite the fact that the figures for 1868 are those of the busiest quarter of the year while those for 1872 represent the winter quarter when slackness of trade, occasioned closure of some bottle holes. A further indication of physical growth is to be seen in the opening of factories in new locations such as Wombwell, Knottingley and Castleford.

(d) Artisan Proprietorship.

Undertaken with a minimum of capital investment, and relying on customer credit and favourable trade conditions as an immediate outlet for goods produced, the Yorkshire container industry was, in the initial decades, an ad hoc system of uneven development. Commercial success depended upon improvisation and adaptability as well as the irreplaceability of manual skill. The successful pursuance of business was far from assured, despite, or in some cases, because of, a cautious, unventuresome, attitude by journeyman proprietors. Nevertheless, the period offered ample opportunities for the translation

from journeyman employee to master craftsman. The increased demand for containers following the removal of government regulation and its financial impositions which had the effect of cheapening cost at a time when urbanisation was creating a wider domestic market, was further stimulated by colonial development and the consumer demands of the Americans whose glass industry was dependent upon a scarce and therefore highly extensive labour force whose skills were as yet incapable of mechanisation.⁶³ Furthermore, the development of railways at home and abroad, together with the steamship, not only reduced transit costs and speeded supply, but ensured that few of the bottles which found their way to foreign lands were returned to the bottler, thereby ensuring a constant demand for replacements.⁶⁴ Such considerations allied to the relatively low cost of raw materials necessary for glass production, presented an unparalleled opportunity for wealth and the acquisition of social status conferred by material prosperity, to thrifty artisans, who taking advantage of changes in partnership laws, in 1850 and 1865, were sufficiently bold to enter into business as glass manufacturers, secure in the knowledge that in the event of failure they could return to the ranks of working journeymen. Indeed, limitations of capital or the exigencies of trade often meant that first generation artisan employers and their sons laboured at the furnace like their hired hands.⁶⁵ The practical expression of this outlook is clearly indicated by reference to artisan involvement in the establishment of Yorkshire glassworks in the period 1840 - 1880.

The original partnership which established the Black Flagg works, survived intact until 1834, when James Winterbottom left to establish the Ryebread Glassworks in conjunction with Dr. Adam Jessup. Following Jessup's withdrawal and replacement by Edgar Breffit, Winterbottom eventually retired from the partnership himself and became proprietor of the West Riding Glassworks, High Street, Castleford, between 1850 - 1864. John Kilner, another of the founding partnership at the Mere, left in 1844 and established a dynastic business at Thornhill Lees in premises used as a flint glassworks since 1830 by Noah Turner, who was himself an artisan proprietor, formerly employed at Rotherham Glassworks where his family had worked for several generations.⁶⁶ By 1863, Kilners had opened a second works at Conisbro, while another branch of the family had commenced business in his own right at Calder Gove, Wakefield. The investment of private capital by businessmen such as George Bradley,⁶⁷ Edgar Breffit, John Lumb, Adam Jessup⁶⁸ and

others, did not diminish the prospect of artisan advancement. On the contrary, the involvement of 'outsiders' enhanced the role of the artisan by making his practical skill and knowledge the more necessary. The extent of artisan involvement in company establishment in the decade from 1844 is indicated by Alfred Greenwood who, from personal knowledge, named 14 artisan manufacturers besides unnamed ones.⁶⁹ The vagaries of the trade cycle, combined with the intensification of domestic competition from the late fifties engendered the situation in which businesses run by artisans singly or in tandem, gave way to proprietorships based on a combination of capital and skill. Thus, although many established glassworks with artisan proprietors throughout the County continued to survive and several others were successfully established during the second half of the period, it is no coincidence that the most successful in terms of profitability and size were those where ownership represented business acumen and craft skill. It is interesting to speculate as to the extent that 'outsiders', holding a more detached view and less subject to the innate conservatism of practising artisans, were influential in the progressive outlook of such firms, although a caveat is necessary in the case of Kilner Brothers, possibly the most progressive Yorkshire company at the period.⁷⁰

(e) The Psychological Dimension.

Something of the speculative nature of artisan investment and the underlying psychological attitude of aspiring journeyman manufacturers is reflected in the nomenclature of newly established glassworks. The appellation 'Black Flag' may signify something of the piratical intentions of the Mere partnership with regard to the business of their former employer.⁷¹ The names 'Who Would Have Thought It?', and 'Mushroom', given to the individual furnaces on the site, however, betoken a degree of amused surprise which suggests, perhaps, the partnership was all too aware of the risk involved in business speculation and far from assured of a successful outcome.⁷² Names such as 'Providence' (Thornhill Lees), 'Phoenix' (Mexbro), 'Hope' (Wakefield and Knottingley), 'Perseverance' and 'Eagle', (Castleford) which designate some Yorkshire glassworks, while representative of the abstract virtues extolled by mid-Victorian society, also reveal much concerning the underlying psychology of the glass making artisan with its admix of good fortune, hard work, and personal aspiration.

Furnaces were also designated grandious names such as 'Marquis',

'Bungalow', 'Titchbourne' and 'Sisters'. The names not only belied the appearance and size of the constructions which were often cheaply and rapidly built to capitalise on the prevailing trade, but indicate an ironic humour which shows the ability of the builders not to take themselves too seriously and is also indicative of the hand to mouth nature of business ventures based on limited financial resources and business experience and exposed to the fickleness of changing circumstance.

The location of many glassworks at pre-designated sites such as 'Hoyle Mill' (Barnsley), Engine House (Leeds), Old Mill (Barnsley), Britannia Works (Castleford) and Quarry Gap (Knottingley) reveals a degree of adaptability by the aspirant proprietors in using previously abandoned industrial sites for their manufacturing activity and also the need for careful husbandry which stands in sharp contrast to the purpose-built, brick cone glasshouses built under the resourceful patronage of the landed gentry in a previous era. It was reasons of economy which resulted in the Black Flagg works being established on the site of a disused metal works,⁷³ Lumb & Co. utilising a former brick works; the conversion of a former pottery by Hardy & Rickard,⁷⁴ and Bagley, Wild & Co. commencing manufacture on the site old farm buildings and later incorporating a disused ropewalk, the company office being situated in a former vicarage adjacent to the site.⁷⁵ Capital limitation is evident in the proliferation of a myriad sites of limited dimension situated along Albion Street and High Street, Castleford in the 1850s, and this not only explains the necessity for additional site acquisition by the more successful firms, but the compact nature of factory expansion by the town-based companies. The same financial limitations were applicable to factories established in more rural surroundings, but sites located at Thornhill Lees, Conisbro, Rotherham and Knottingley enabled later expansion of a less restricted nature than that of the congested multiple urban sites of Castleford.⁷⁶

(f) Social Status.

By the 1860s the growing capital requirement allied to the intensification of trade had resulted in the harnessing of external capital to craft expertise as the pre-requisite for the successful establishment of new glassworks. The development changed the system of translation from journeyman worker to artisan manufacturer by restricting the number of opportunities for direct entry to the rank of manufacturer. At the same time, the infusion of an entrepreneurial element,

combined with business operations undertaken on separate sites, placed an emphasis on site management. Henceforth, the promotional prospects for ambitious journeymen was via the role of 'walking (i.e. works) manager' and by dint of efficiency and dedication, progression to the ultimate trade and social position of partnership.

The initial problem for such aspirants was to gain the attentions of manufacturers and having done so, impress one's ability upon them. For many the best way to achieve the initial step was through participation in the affairs of the Union which, via representation and negotiation, brought the official into frequent and direct contact with the employers. By such means William Bagley, Central Secretary of the Yorkshire Bottle Hands, 1867 - 68, drew the notice of Edgar Breffit who persuaded Bagley to resign his union post and become manager of his Ferrybridge site. From his managerial position, Bagley, within the space of two years, in conjunction with John Wild, a fellow union representative, and John Bagley, a Hunslet flint hand, was able to establish himself as a manufacturer at Knottingley.⁷⁷ Bagley is the supreme example of artisan progression but although the opportunities for advancement to the status of manufacturer were diminished compared to that of the two previous decades, the opportunity was sufficiently real for others during the 1870s. Isaac Burdin, a Castleford artisan and member of the Bottle Hands Executive Council, became a manufacturer at Knottingley between 1874 - 1876, together with two other Castleford artisans.⁷⁸ It is significant that despite the success of the factory, the partnership was subjected to financial strains which eventually resulted in the sale of the business to a non-artisan proprietor. S. A. Parkin, former Union Secretary⁷⁹ and R. Howett, Council member⁸⁰ are two further examples of journeyman managers, while Alfred Greenwood, Bagley's long-serving successor, in the course of his 50 year tenure of office as C.S. was offered frequent opportunities to avail himself of the status of manufacturer via partnership.⁸¹ In general terms, however, the major hope of attaining a partnership was for a manager to become totally identified with his employer's interest. The employers, aware of the precariousness of their business position, had driven their workers as hard as they could, whether from fear or greed, this had resulted in the assault on trade custom by the mid 1850s (cf chapter 4 infra) with the rise of managerial control, power was frequently entrusted to unscrupulous journeymen appointed for their willingness to strap and sweat their fellow artisans.⁸²

So contrary was the role of the manager to the interest of the workers that as early as 1867 the Bottle Hands had excluded walking managers from membership.⁸³ The Flint Hands allowed managers to retain their membership but following continual trade disputes arising as a result of managerial actions were led to the opinion that -

"Most of the annoyances spring from small houses wherein employers work themselves or have a man to manage, who is trying himself to become a partner in the firm, or lift himself out of the chair altogether by becoming a little employer or being made a walking manager. To be a 'middle man' or 'go-between', in a small shop seems to be the sole aspiration of some men".⁸⁴

and again;

"....the eagerness that a manager's position in Yorkshire is sought after is something incredible".⁸⁵

The severe downturn of trade from the mid 1870s intensified the abuses of the managerial situation, particularly at Castleford where the unprincipled John McHenry exerted a pernicious influence over the flint glass bottle trade throughout the County. Paradoxically, the protracted nature of the trade depression resulted in restriction of the opportunity to acquire proprietorial status for over two decades.⁸⁶

CHAPTER ONE: The Growth of the Yorkshire Glass Industry,
circa 1840 - 1880.

1. Crossley P.W. & Aberg F.A. 'Sixteenth Century Glassmaking in Yorkshire: excavation at furnaces at Hutton and Rosedale, North Riding', Post Medieval Archaeology, 1962, pp 107 - 159.
2. - Hunter J. 'South Yorkshire' 2 volumes 1828 - 1831.
3. Houghton J. 'Periodical Letters on Husbandry and Trade Letter No. 198. Houghton listed 88 glasshouses of which 38 were engaged in bottle production while a further 19 produced flint, green or ordinary glass. Houghton did not actually name the glasshouses. Silkstone is commonly presumed, but Barker R.W. 'Notes on some Yorkshire Glasshouses' J.S.G.T. Vol. 9 1925, p 322 doubts the very existence of a glasshouse at Silkstone. Hodkin 'The Contribution of Yorkshire to Glass', J.S.G.T. Vol.37 pp 21N - 36N, 19 mentions the possibility of a fourth glasshouse at Glasshoughton near Castleford but Goodchild J. 'South Yorkshire Journal No. 1, 1969, considers Houghton's phrase "near Ferrybridge" to indicate the glassworks situated at Glasshoughton; the reference to Ferrybridge, situated on the main London to Edinburgh route being a means of geographical identification. There is further reference to the Glasshoughton works in the Journal of the House of Commons, 5th December 1696, while the nomenclature and nearby sand excavation sites tend to further substantiate the former existence of such a glassworks. There is, however, frequent confusion of fact concerning Glasshoughton and Ferrybridge Glassworks. A good example is found in Butterworth L.M.A. 'Yorkshire Glasshouses circ 1689 - 1800', (typescript, Leeds Central Reference Library) where having traced the history ascribed to Glasshoughton glassworks the author concludes in referring to the use of the site as a branch works by Edgar Breffit & Co., Castleford, between 1870 - 1880. There is clear evidence to indicate that this event relates to the works at Ferrybridge, situated on the north bank of the River Aire and now demolished, although the foundations are clearly discernable. The Ferrybridge works belonged to the Ramsdens of Byram and it is not improbable that the works were erected on the Byram estate during the phase of Capitalist entrepreneurship described by Godfrey E.S. The Development of English Glass Making 1560 - 1640 (OUP 1975) p 162 and 192, and

- Scoville W, 'Capitalism and French Glassmaking', 1640 - 1789 (University of California Publications in Economics, Volume 15, 1950) p 57 and subsequently leased to various manufacturers.
4. Butterworth, loc cit, pp 3 - 33 *passim*.
 5. Green D. The Glassworks Rotherham, 1751 - 1951 (Beatson Clark & Co. Rotherham 1951).
 6. Godfrey, op cit, pp 151 - 152 for reference to origins of chimney in glass manufacture. The glass cones were of variable size, being from 60 to 50 feet in height.
 7. At Bolderstone local sandstone contained between 89% and 92% silica cf Butterworth, loc cit, p 9. Also Kenworthy J. 'Glassmaking at Bolderstone, Sheffield, 1650 - 1750', J.S.G.T. Volume 2, 1918, pp 9 - 10, for details of other raw materials suitable for the manufacture of glass which were located in the vicinity.
 8. Butterworth, loc cit, p 24. The inability of Bristol to compete economically is evident from the decline in the number of glassworks in that area. In 1761 there were 15 factories manufacturing various wares, but by 1833 the number had fallen to 6. Twenty years later there were 3 factories and by 1874, only one. cf Turner W.E.S. The British Glass Industry: its Development and Outlook J.S.G.T. Volume 6, 1922, p 120. The position of Lancashire is harder to define in terms of productive units, but although expansion occurred rapidly prior to the mid-nineteenth century, the rate of expansion was less than that of the Yorkshire container industry thereafter. The initial advantage to Lancashire may have been due to the earlier introduction of the railways cf Brown, op cit, pp 216 - 217.
 9. 6 and 7 William & Mary c/8 (1965) laid a tax of one shilling per dozen on bottles; 20% on fine glass and looking-glass plate and 15% on all other sorts of glass.
 10. Kenworthy, loc cit, pp 7 - 8 for examples of wares produced at Bolderstone.

11. Butterworth, op cit, p 23.
12. Universal British Directory, 1790.
13. Collier Vessels brought sand from Kings Lynn and limestone and cullet from London as ballast on their return trips cf Hodkin, op cit, p 23N.
14. Brown, op cit, pp 234 - 235. Woodward H.W. The Glass Industry of the Stourbridge District, West Midland Studies Volume VIII, 1976, p 36 for distribution of Midlands clay.
15. Brown, op cit, p 304.
16. Brown, op cit, p 234. The Don Navigation although commenced in 1729 was not completed until 1819.
17. Barker T.C. Pilkington Brothers and the Glass Industry (George Allen & Unwin 1960) p 128.
18. Brown, op cit, p 281.
19. ibid, p 249.
20. ibid p 253. The Excise Duty on glass bottles was increased by 49.7% between 1770 - 1800 and by 49.8% between 1800 - 1840 cf Turner loc cit, Table VII, p 128. The imposition of the tax was not merely a direct restraint on production and profitability but also an indirect influence since each individual unit was required to be stamped with the official 'EX' symbol, a time consuming exercise, op cit, p 129.
21. Butterworth, op cit, p 29. By 1804, Bower Brothers, practical glass artisans, taking advantage of the same basic conditions as those available to the proprietors of the Engine Glass Works, monopolised the local trade in crown window glass. It was claimed that such glass could be produced in Yorkshire 20% more cheaply than at Birmingham and 15% more cheaply than at St. Helens. For this reason a cartel consisting of Chance Bros. and Pilkington Bros. conditionally purchased and then closed the Bower factory in 1861 thus confining glass production in

Yorkshire to the manufacture of containers and a small output of medical wares. cf Barker, op cit, pp 124 - 125.

22. Bigland J. A Topographical History of Yorkshire, p 815, quoted in Barker W.R. Notes on some Old Yorkshire Glasshouses, J.S.G.T., volume IX, 1925, pp 322 - 333.
23. The firm was founded as Bower, Smith & Co., but by 1818 had become a family business of two separate and distinct parts with Joshua Bower manufacturing crown window glass and his brother, John, producing bottles. The duality continued until 1853, when increasing competition led to the amalgamation of the two elements, cf Butterworth, op cit, p39.
24. Hodkin, loc cit, pp 23N - 24N.
25. Brown, op cit, pp 239 - 241.
26. Padgett L. Castleford & District in Olden Time (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent & Co. London, 1904) pp 134 - 135.
27. Hadfield C. The Canals of Yorkshire & North East England, Volume 1 (David & Charles 1972). Unwin R.W. The Aire & Calder Navigation Part 1: The Beginning of The Navigation (1964): Part 2 The Navigation in the Pre Canal Age (1967). Reprinted in the Bradford Antiquary (New Series), Part XLII, 1964. Wilson R.G. The Aire & Calder Navigation in the second half of the Nineteenth Century, (loc cit, 1969). Also, Ramsden G. Two Notes on the History of the Aire & Calder Navigation, Thorseby Society Publication Miscellany (Volume 12, Part 4).
28. Baines E. History, Directory & Gazeteer of the County of York, (Leeds, 1822) (facsimilie reprint 1969).
29. Blanchard D. (ed), Knottingley: its Origins & Industries, Volume 1, (Polyhedron Cambridge 1977) pp 16 - 17, and Volume 2 (1979) pp 72 - 94. Although primarily concerned with the maritime history of Knottingley, there are many aspects which are applicable to that of Castleford.
30. Hardcastle J. A Concise Historical Descriptive Account of Castleford (Fawbert, Castleford 1888) p 16.

31. The other partners were John Kilner, William Jepson, William Izard, artisan glassmakers, together with Richard Macawley, their clerk. The company traded as William Jepson & Co., until the mid Nineteenth Century.
32. The name of the works bears testimony to the importance of the waterway in the function of the glasshouse. The works traded under the name of Winterbottom and Jessup until 1839 when the latter withdrew from the partnership and was replaced by Edgar Breffit under whose business guidance following the repeal of the Excise, it became the largest bottle works in Britain for several decades. For details of Breffit's career cf British Trade Journal, June 1976, pp 324 - 325.
33. Hodkin, loc cit, p 24 N.
34. Green D, op cit, p 17. Hodkin, ibid, p 27N.
35. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, p 112. Alfred Greenwood refers to an oral tradition within the County trade that Rotherham Glassworks provided the nucleus for expansion as its artisans were responsible for establishing works at Gawber Hall (Barnsley) and from thence to Hunslet at the start of the Nineteenth Century, with the subsequent development outlined supra. As the oldest established factory in the County it is quite probable that Rotherham Glassworks provided the basis for industrial expansion, since, however, Gawber Glassworks was established circa 1720 and Rotherham 1751, the claim made by the oral tradition regarding the two factories cannot be sustained by fact.
36. The principal data sources are trade directories, Parliamentary Papers, Census Returns etc., in which compilation of material is often erroneous due to lack of first-hand knowledge by those involved in data collection. The common confusion as to what constitutes a glass works and what a glass house is, is a prime example. A basic unit of production was the glass works (i.e. factory), but a single works could consist of one or more glass houses in each one of which a five man artisan chair was employed. The appellation 'glasshouse' was commonly used to define a glass factory and as a result wide discrep-

ancies occur as to the number of glass houses in operation in a given locality at a particular time. For an example of such inprecision as a result of variance in data sources cf Brown, op cit, Table 10 p 61.

37. Brown, op cit, p 75.
38. Some trade directories refer, for instance, to Ferrybridge Glassworks and Brotherton Glassworks, both being synonymous, confusion arising from the fact that the Ferrybridge works were situated on the north bank of the River Aire, known as Brotherton Marsh. Likewise, Breffits Aire & Calder Glassworks were commonly referred to as Ryebread Glassworks.
39. Turner W.E.S. 'The British Glass Industry.....', J.S.G.T., Volume 6, 1922, Table V.
40. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
41. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 419.
42. Brown, op cit, pp 80 - 81.
43. ibid Table 10, p 61 and Table 16, p 90.
44. ibid pp 253 - 254.
45. Brundage, op cit, p 4.
46. ibid, pp 251 - 253.
47. ibid, p 6.
48. An example of leasehold property as a temporary trading base is seen in the case of the Ferrybridge Glassworks which were leased from Sir John Ramsden by various proprietors throughout the Nineteenth Century. Similarly, John Kilner commenced trading at Thornhill Lees in 1844, in premises belonging to a large landowner, before eventually purchasing land upon which a new works was built cf Fifty Years of the Glass Bottle Trade, (Kilner Bros. Jubilee Booklet, 1894) p 10.

49. Samuel R. Workshop of the World: Steam Power and Hand Technology in mid-Victorian Britain, History Workshop No. 3, 1977. p 58.
50. G.B.M. Reports Volume XXII, pp 26 - 27.
51. Babbage B.H. Report on the General Board of Health on a Preliminary Enquiry into Sewerage, Drainage and Water Supply, and the Sanitary Conditions of the Inhabitants of the Township of Castleford in the County of York (1850).
52. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
53. Babbage, loc cit.
54. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
55. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 409.
56. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 301.
57. Royal Commission on Childrens Employment 4th Report 1865. Written evidence of Dr. Adam Jessup of Castleford Q 258, p 260.
58. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 409.
59. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 301.
60. Childrens Employment Commission, Report of J. E. White, p. 182.
61. One of the 8 dual furnace sites was at Ferrybridge Glassworks, part of the Breffit holding at this time.
62. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 419.
63. For details concerning the nature and volume of overseas trade conducted by Kilner Bros. cf Fifty Years p 9.
64. op cit, p 9.
65. Hardcastle, op cit, p 34.

66. Green, op cit, p 17.
67. For details of Bradley's life and his influence on the township of Castleford and its vicinity cf Goodchild J in Taylor K (ed) Wakefield District Heritage, Volume II, 1979, pp 20 - 21.
68. Goodchild, J. Article concerning Adam Jessup, in Pontefract & Castleford Express, 30th March, 1978.
69. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, p 506.
70. For details of Kilner's history cf Fifty Years.....
71. Hodkin, op cit, p 23N.
72. Hardcastle, op cit, p 16.
73. ibid.
74. Lawrence H. Yorkshire Pots & Potteries, (David & Charles, 1974), p 19.
75. O.S. Map of Knottingley 1845.
76. Some idea of site value may be obtained by the fact that in 1834, Winterbottom and Jessup purchased four acres of land at Castleford for £495. Hardcastle, op cit, p 16. Thirty years later the site of Hope Glassworks, Knottingley, comprising a little more than $\frac{1}{4}$ acre, was sold for £250. In terms of site rental a degree of stability is evident during the period. At Rotherham in 1828, a site of little more than 8 acres was rented for £150 p.a. and this had risen to £170 by 1836, Green, op cit, p 13 and p 17, while 50 years later a site of unspecified acreage, but consisting of 2 bottle houses, six cottages and a large dwelling house was available at Ferrybridge Glassworks for an annual rental of £172. F.G.M.M. Volume IV (New Series) p 337. The scope for physical expansion at the Kilner sites of Thornhill Lees and Conisbro and indications of such expansion may be seen by comparison of the photographs in the Company's Jubilee Booklet cf Fifty Years..... p 23 and p 25 and p 29.

77. The artisan trio were financially subsidised by two local businessmen, J. W. Metcalf, a farmer, and John Curtis, a publican cf Blanchard D (ed), op cit, Volume 1, p 37.
78. ibid, p 38.
79. G.B.M. Reports, Volume X, p 418 and p 420.
80. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XV, pp 253 and 308.
81. Thompson J. Pontefract & Castleford Express, 3rd August, 1923. Greenwood was a working manager at Hardy & Rickard's factory at Castleford, cf Beehive, 17th Jan. 1874.
82. Hardcastle, op cit, p 34 for an account of the burning of an effigy of Edgar Breffit's manager, Thomas Marshall, during the Lock-Out of 1856. For examples of managers giving purjured evidence in favour of their employers cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 32 and F.G.M.M. Volume VIII, (New Series) pp 192 - 194.
83. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 208.
84. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 227.
85. F.G.M.M., Volume IX (New Series) p 548.
86. F.G.M.M., Volume X, (New Series) p 135 referring to John McHenry, Manager at Sykes Macvay's factory, Castleford, states that he was "Well known throughout Yorkshire for his mean despicable actions". The article reveals McHenry's willingness to 'outlaw' the F.G.M. Society of which he was a member, and run a 'black' shop in order to obtain a partnership in a Hunslet firm, op cit, p 134. For other references to McHenry's perfidy cf F.G.M.M. Volume VIII, pp 192 - 194 and Volume IX, pp 142 - 144.

CHAPTER TWO:

THE WORK SITUATION

(a) Preparation.

Despite its capitalistic transition from the mid-seventeenth century, the glass industry continued to be characterised by irregular work patterns for a further two centuries.¹ Work commenced and concluded according to the readiness and duration of the metal within the furnace pots. In addition to basic considerations such as pot size, batch composition and the amount of residual metal left within the pot following the working out of the previous batch, were others such as the quality of coal used to fuel the furnace, windforce and direction and the design and situation of the furnace itself, all of which were factors governing the time required for preparation of the metal. Consequently, the skill and experience of the founder and teaser was an important element, for the variable and unequal aspects of furnace performance required a sound eye and good judgement.²

The stage of preparation commenced with the mixing of the composite batch ingredients. The mixture was then shovelled into the furnace pot together with a quantity of cullet and slowly melted by means of a gradual intensification of heat in order to avoid damage to the pots by a too rapid increase in furnace temperature,³ and also to avoid production of metal of unsatisfactory consistency which would retard output and adversely affect chair earnings.⁴ Similar considerations applied to the annealing of finished wares where temperature control was essential to avoid crizzled or smoke-blackening wares which would be deducted from the tally of the chair compiled at the point of production.⁵ The work of the foundryman was, therefore, mentally and physically demanding, a fact which was reflected in the remuneration received, despite the lack of artisan status.⁶

By the mid-nineteenth century the skill of the founder and teaser, allied to improvements in batch preparation⁷ and advances in furnace technology had reduced the time required for metal preparation to an average of 15 hours. With the removal of the elaborate constraints imposed by Excise regulations, thereby occasioning delay and retarding the pace and level of production, the stages of preparation and working out were brought within the context of a 24 hour ideal.⁸

Upon near completion of the melting process the scum which had formed as a result of impurities in the batch mix was removed from the surface of the metal by the teaser who also eliminated air bubbles from the molten mass.⁹ Meanwhile, the chair members were summoned to the factory to commence working out the metal. As such a summons could take place at any hour of the day or night inability to contact chair members or the slow response of individuals to the summons to work occasioned frequent delay in the commencement of the process of working out the metal.

(b) Production Methods.

The manual system of glass container production was undertaken by two distinct groups of glassworkers known as 'bottle hands' and 'flint hands' according to the method of production employed.¹⁰

The bottle hands worked as a five man team, known as a chair¹¹ consisting of three artisan members, the bottlemaker, who was the senior craftsman, the bottle blower and the gatherer. The wetter-off, and the taker-in completed the chair, the former being a craft apprentice; the latter a youth with craft aspiration.¹²

During the formative phase of English glass making the wage structure of the industry had been determined on the basis of an annual remuneration paid to each chair. Economic pressure had, therefore, resulted in some chairs being reduced from three craftsmen to two according to the size and nature of the ware being produced.¹³ Such reduction generally occurred in chairs making lighter or easier work and from this had evolved the system of flint glass bottle manufacture which dispensed with the gatherer and employed two blower gatherers, a finisher and a taker-in, as its four member chair.

Within the Yorkshire region the bottle hands were dominant by the mid-nineteenth century although the number of flint chairs increased during the second half of the century as the traditional flint glass houses increased their output of containers in response to the expansion of the container trade and the effect of growing foreign competition in the flint glass trade.

The method of production employed by the bottle hands commenced with the gatherer, who, using a hollow pipe five feet in length and about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch diameter, fluted at one end, gathered a sufficient quantity



of metal from the furnace pot by inserting the rod through a small aperture in the furnace wall and rotating the rod to accumulate a quantity of metal. Upon retrieval the pipe was passed to the glass blower who shaped a parison¹⁴ by rolling the viscous metal across the marver before inserting the parison in a mould at his feet and by blowing air from his lungs down the gathering pipe, produced a hollow container of exact shape and dimension. Next, the wetter-off removed the blown bottle from the mould, with the gathering rod still attached and carried it to the casher box where a tool known as a mullet was used to detach the rod. The bottlemaker then fixed a solid rod, known as a puntil, to the base of the bottle and seated in his chair, completed the bottle by applying the finish (i.e. shaping of the mouth, and the application of a reinforcing ring at the top of the neck) before passing the article to the taker-in for conveyance to the annealing oven.

The flint hands method was for the blowers to gather their own metal from the furnace and shape and blow the parison and then pass the container to the finisher who, having detached the gathering rod from the neck and substituting a puntil rod at the base, reheated the neck end in a small fire-box, known as a gloryhole. Being reheated, the neck of the bottle became malleable and the process of production was completed in a similar fashion to that used by the bottle hands.¹⁵

A check on ongoing production was made necessary by the dual wage structure observed within the trade (cf infra). For this reason the chair had a board upon which each completed unit was chalked up by the bottlemaker, using a notational system applied by Yorkshire shepherds from time immemorial.¹⁶ Upon completion of the day's work the units were totalled up and entered into note books kept by the walking manager - and the bottlemaker for future reference in calculating the chairs daily earning.¹⁷ It was essential that such a record be kept for in the Yorkshire area payment was confined to marketable bottles and thus a lapse of time occurred between manufacture and warehousing during which the bottles were sorted for quality. All rejected bottles were retained within the warehouse for inspection by the chair members before being broken down as cullet.

(c) The System of Wage Payments.

(i) The Move.

The basic wage determinant in the flint and bottle glass trades was



the move. The move was a specific number of units of production designated as constituting the minimum daily output of each glass making chair. The extent of the move was determined by considerations such as the unit size, degree of technical difficulty anticipated in unit production, together with the market prices of raw materials and finished goods. The wage value of the move was calculated on the basis of 'x' shillings and pence per dozen units of production with a pro rata division of the wage value amongst chair members according to the degree of craft status, the bottlemaker receiving about a third of the total value.¹⁸

Throughout the eighteenth century technical limitations and economic restrictions imposed temporal constraints retarding the general pace and therefore rate, of production. Consequently the number of moves obtainable within a working week was confined by limitations of time to five (i.e. one per journey).¹⁹ Within the flint glass trade, following the preparation of the metal over a 48 hour weekend period, two shifts of glassmakers worked six hour shifts, turn and turn about, until the metal was used up. The hands were then stood down while the pots were recharged, at which time they were recalled to repeat the process of working out the metal.²⁰

By the mid-nineteenth century the speed of production had increased to the extent that the five moves could be obtained by late Wednesday or early Thursday, leaving the remainder of the week for surplus production.²¹ Within the bottle trade where smaller pots were utilised, the contents could be worked out within an average period of ten hours. As less craftsmanship and concentration was required in this branch of the trade it was customary for each chair to work out the entire contents of the pot before ceasing work. The pots were then recharged over the following 15-18 hours.

The theoretical and increasingly practical possibility of obtaining the moves constituting a nominal production well in excess of the period of the customarily observed working week resulted in the practice of working out the residual metal at overwork rates.

(ii) Overwork.

Overwork rates were paid as a financial inducement to the artisans and was calculated on the basis of each gross (or part) of units produced surplus to the requirement of the move.²² As the amount of

overwork produced varied from week to week and as variations existed within chairs employed in the same factory, being conditional upon the state of the metal and pace of work, it was necessary to nominate a theoretical average for the purpose of negotiating overwork rates, the sum of £2 per week, per hole (i.e. chair) being the basis of calculation.

Acknowledgement of the division between basic and surplus production implied the right of the chair to cease production upon procurement of the number constituting the week's work. In actual fact the exercise of such right, although enshrined in custom based trade lore, was more honoured in the breach than the observance and work generally ceased only when the pots were emptied.²³ Nevertheless, such right, real or implied, did exist and was to prove the basis of contention during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

(d) Hours of Work.

By the fourth decade of the nineteenth century most of the bottle-making regions of Britain were working a basic week of five moves. Considerable variations existed, however, in the number constituting the move in any particular region and also in the rate of basic wages and overwork paid to regional chairs of glassmakers, as revealed by reference to Table 2:1.

Such variations occurred in part as a result of local market forces but even within a given district variations occurred. In Yorkshire for example, in 1847, and for some years thereafter, journeymen in some factories who had commenced work at Sunday midnight were having to leave off work at midnight the following Saturday (Sunday work being prohibited at that time) with the fifth journey unfinished.²⁴

The working week of the Yorkshire bottle hands at that period consisted of 6 x 12 hour shifts compared to the 48 to 56 hour week of the flint glassmakers.²⁵ The hours of the Yorkshire bottle hands were in excess of those worked by the average artisan worker in the first half of the nineteenth century.²⁶ Furthermore, the industry was characterised by uneven work patterns occurring as a result of technical variation and lack of legislative constraint on adult hours of labour.²⁷ Matsumura has noted variable work patterns within the Midland flint glass industry, post 1850,²⁸ and the same irregularity is evident within the Yorkshire bottle industry during the same period.

"We are called out for the first journey at about eleven Sunday night for the second at two or three a.m. on Tuesday, and each following journey begins a few hours later than on the day before, but it is very uncertain when you begin. Sometimes I am eighteen hours at home before being called".²⁹

Thus, although by 1862 the Rules of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers Society had defined the extent of the working week as 1.30a.m. Monday to 4.00p.m. Saturday,³⁰ and further erosion occurred within the decade,³¹ the vagaries of the furnace dictated irregular working hours and it was not until the widespread adoption of the regenerative gas-fired furnace, circa 1880, that a uniform pattern of daily work was possible.

(e) Customary Observances.

The development of workshop practice and systems of wage payment was accompanied by the evolution of social and industrial attitudes which by the nineteenth century had crystallised into trade custom. The customs of the trade underpinned the socio-economic status of the artisan glassmakers and this fact explains the innate conservatism within the fraternity. Changes within the trade were acceptable but only in so far as they posed no direct threat to the craft status of the journeymen workers or resulted in the enhancement of such status. Indeed, it was the acceptance of change in certain areas of trade practice and the necessity to reinforce the benefit to the craftsman presented by the change, that modifications of the status quo gradually attained the preservatory embellishment of trade custom. Customary observance defined the boundaries of craft functionalism and determined the scale of individual remuneration within the hierarchical structure of the craft. Trade entry and craft progression were regulated by customary observance as was the system of engagement and termination of employment. The limitation of output at any stage beyond the attainment of the basic number had its basis in custom which also drew lines of productive demarcation between the type of ware manufactured by the bottle hands and their flint glass counterparts. Craft traditions extended to more incidental aspects of employment, each designed to safeguard the economic position of craft members at times of temporary adversity arising from detrimental working conditions.

Safeguards included

The provision of half wages when the chair, through no fault of their own, were unable to work; secondary employment in the yard when houses were out for repair; or work sharing at times when houses were laid up because of slack trade, even indeed, the provision of adequate notice of intent by employers concerning these aspects. Other areas of customary observance covered the payment for defective wares occurring in consequence of bad metal or mishaps during annealing, the taking of occasional holidays, conditional upon the customary provision of a locum tenens thereby obviating chair fragmentation, and the wage structure applicable where single-handed working was unavoidable,³² or the periodic necessity for pot changing, customarily undertaken by the chair members themselves rather than by the founders.

Beyond this direct application to trade practices, customary observance also provided the basis for social attitudes and behaviour. This was reflected in many aspects of trade unionism and betokened the independence and economic status conferred by craftsmanship.

CHAPTER TWO: The Work Situation

1. F.G.M.M. Volume VIII, p 541.
2. Guttery D.R. From Broad Glass to Cut Crystal; A History of Stourbridge Glass Industry (Leonard Hill Ltd., 1956).
3. The fireclay pots were placed in a pot arch adjacent to the furnace and gradually pre-heated before required for use as replacement for broken or damaged ones within the furnace. The process of replacement was known as 'pot setting'.
4. Unsatisfactory metal was colloquially known as 'doggy' metal, which may be a derivative of 'dodgy' (i.e. difficult to manipulate) metal. A common fault was botchy metal which caused reduction or loss of artisan earnings cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 368.
5. The annealing process was one by which glass was gradually cooled from its working temperature to room temperature. The 'curing' process rendered the glass less brittle. Originally the annealing was undertaken in coal-fired kilns and the process took from 6 to 60 hours, depending on the size of ware and its place within the oven. The skill and experience of the teaser was crucial to the time involved cf Pallatt A. 'Curiosities of Glassmaking' (Ceramic Book Co. 1849) p 65.
6. Founders in the early seventeenth century received wages of about 7/- per week which was equalled by the remuneration paid to pot makers. Teazers received 5/- per week. These wages compared favourably to those of building trade artisans of that period who averaged 6/- per week, cf Godfrey E.S., op cit, pp 190 - 191. By the mid nineteenth century founders and teazers were still well paid for labourers, receiving wages in advance of the gatherers basic wage and in some regions of the bottle trade equivalent to the basic rate of the bottle-blower cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, pp 460 - 467. It must be noted, however, that the furnacemen worked almost a third more hours than the 60 hour week of the artisans at that period.

7. Guttery op cit, p 41, whilst dismissing the notion of carefree batch mixing as erroneous, having arisen in consequence of variable batch 'recipies', nevertheless indicates f/n 2, p 43, the prevalent use of waste products of other industries in the manufacture of bottle glass. By the mid nineteenth century, however, common black bottles were not only losing ground to the dark green metal, but were themselves the subject of improved appearance in accordance with public taste and changing technology.
8. Children's Employment Commission 4th Report, 1865, p 399 stated that the process of preparing the metal took about 15 hours. The size of the pots was, of course, a determining factor. At Leith, Scotland, pots containing 3 tons of metal took 15 - 16 hours to prepare F.G.M. Magazine, September 1866, p 774. Average sized pots held 16 to 18 cwt. F.G.M.M. Volume V p 67.
9. The elimination of air bubbles was obtained by lowering a turnip into the molten mass. Sometimes a large potato was thrown into the pot for the same purpose. I am indebted to the late Mr. J. W. Hobman of Knottingley for this information, given in an interview 8th March, 1974.
10. Originally 'flint hands', as the name suggests, were artisans working with clear (i.e. colourless) glass, obtained by using calcinated flints as a batch ingredient or, from the late seventeenth century, lead glass to produce high class table and domestic wares. The bottle hands manufactured common bottles of black or dark green metal. With the rise of the Yorkshire container industry in the nineteenth century both flint and bottle hands became involved in container production, using the pale (i.e. light green) metal which was the County specialty. The traditional sphere of flint glass manufacture continued in various areas of Britain, particularly in the Midlands but within the County of Yorkshire it became increasingly common to distinguish the two types of artisan according to the type of containers they produced. The term 'bottle hands' was, therefore, applied to those manufacturing bottles of larger capacity than those made by flint hands who, because of their predominant production of small medicine bottles and jars, were frequently referred to in Yorkshire as 'medical hands'.

11. The term 'chair is derived from the bench used by the senior glassmaker to finish the container. For details of historical development of the chair, cf Charleston J.R. 'Some Tools of the Glassmaker in Medieval and Renaissance Times with Special Reference to the Glassmakers Chair', Glass Technology, No. 3, Volume 3, June 1962, pp 107 - 111.
12. Some overlapping of trade divisions did occur in the course of craft progression, but these intermediate stages were carefully monitored and strictly limited.
13. Godfrey op cit, p 184. An indication of the degree of flexibility within the chair structure of the flint glass industry may be witnessed today at the factory of Dartington Glass, Gt. Torrington, Devon, where chair composition is determined by the type of ware being manufactured.
14. The term probably derives from the initial process of container manufacture in which the blower shaped the gathered metal into a rough 'comparison' of the finished size and shape before commencing the blowing process.
15. A third process of container production was associated with the manufacture of carboys. Owing to their immense size, carboys required three separate stages of gathering and blowing. The carboy hole, therefore, consisted of seven bottle hands who were termed first, second and third time gatherer, parison maker, blower-out, bottle maker and taker-in. In this process the blower used his mouth to inject a small measure of water into the centre of the parison via the blowpipe immediately prior to blowing. The combination of the resultant steam and air expanded the carboy to the required size. For description of glass making methodology cf Hollinyard E.J., Hall A.R. and Williams I.T., A History of Technology^(our), Volume 5, pp 674 - 676. Also Hodkin F.W. & Cousen R.A. A Textbook of Glass Technology (Constable & Co. 1925) pp 401 - 411.
16. The system was basic group of five, every fifth mark being diagonally super imposed on the other four. I am indebted to the late Mr. J.W. Hobman for this information in an interview 8th March 1974. The system was ideal for adoption by the Bottle-hands for apart from ease of use by the illiterate and barely numerate element of the fraternity, it accorded well with the structure of manual methodology which required the use of a round of pipes (i.e. three gathering rods, one pontil rod and a ring iron) per unit of production.

17. A 'walking manager' was the term used within the bottle making trade for a journeyman who supervised a series of bottle holes or a small factory.
18. The move may have had its origins in the 'glassmakers third', a customary wage ratio of one third of the total output value paid to journeyman glassmakers during the formative period of capitalistic control of the industry, and reflected in the inter-chair wage structure throughout the period of manual production.
19. The terms, number, move and journey (from the french journee = day) are, therefore, synonymous and continued to be used within the trade long after the temporal equation had ceased to be relevant.
20. Barker T.C. and Harris J.R. 'A Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution: St. Helens 1750 - 1950 (Frank Cass & Co.) 2nd edition (1959) p 286.
21. F.G.M.M. Volume IV, P 67 and pp 845 - 851.
22. The system of overwork payment may have originated as a supplemental bonus to the chair wage, being based on a ratio of the chair's annual salary, cf Scoville W, op cit, p 75 for parallel development in France. Overwork was referred to as 'plus' (i.e. surplus) within the bottle trade. The term was ultimately corrupted, becoming 'plush', a word synonymous with comfort or luxury, an indication, perhaps, of the socio-economic self esteem of the bottle hands.
23. The pots were, in fact, never totally worked out for upon depletion to a certain level the gatherer was unable to obtain the required amount of metal due to the acuteness of the angle between the gathering hole and the level of the remaining metal. At this point the pot was deemed worked out and the residual metal was left to assist the melting process of the following batch and thus reduce the preparatory time.
24. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, p 505.

25. F.G.M.M., Volume V, p 851. The hours of work quoted include stoppages for refreshment which were taken communally within the workshop, meals being brought to the factory. At Knottingley, within living memory, children were paid 1d per day for taking meals to the glassworks for consumption by the glassworkers at mid-turn break.
26. Howell G. 'Labour Leaders, Labour Movements and Labour Legislation (Unwin 1902).
27. During the course of a 48 hour working week, flint hands retired to bed eight times day or night, depending upon the hour at which the metal was exhausted. F.G.M.M., loc cit.
28. Matsumura, op cit, pp 45 - 46.
29. Children's Employment Commission 4th Report 1865. Evidence of Alfred Dunhill, a Kilnhurst gatherer, p 400.
30. G.B.M.Y.U.T.P. Society Rules 1862, Rule 34, Reprinted in G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 468.
31. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 170 and p 175 for amendment to Rule 34 by D.M. held 2nd June, 1866, making 3.00a.m. Monday the time for commencement of the working week and 1.00p.m. Saturday, the termination, subject to the number being obtained. Also, G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, p 351.
32. Working with less than the normal compliment of chair members was known as single-handed working and usually combined the process of gathering and blowing, such chairs were referred to as bye-holes.

CHAPTER THREE:

EARLY TRADE UNIONISM AND TRADE CUSTOM

(a) Historical Development.

Time has obscured the beginnings of trade union organisation among glassmakers. The National Flint Glass Makers Friendly Society of Great Britain and Ireland was established in 1849¹ but that year merely marks the commencement of the final and most successful system of organisation by the flint glassmakers. Numerous incidental references in the Flint Glass Makers Magazine indicate the existence of at least four earlier systems between 1810 and 1850². A reference dated 1857 concerning the history of the Society during the previous quarter century lists the 'oath' system, the 'halfcrown' system, the 'tramping' system and the system then in use which was based on a register of membership as the basis for administration of trade relief and placement of out of work members.³ The same source provides insight into the potentially dangerous circumstances surrounding the establishment of a trade union in the early nineteenth century by references to 'secret contributors' and 'trembling officials', a fact which explains the anonymous and obscure nature of early trade unionism even within the ranks of highly skilled craft-based industries such as that of the glassmakers. A statement in 1863 that the Flint Glass Makers Society existed

"longer than the oldest member can recall" indicates that some formalised structure was in existence at the close of the eighteenth century.⁴ The details obtained from the same source concerning the nature of early organisation includes two tramping systems in which relief of unemployed artisans travelling the country in search of work was provided by the donation of a fixed sum of money per tramp at each lodge the itinerant artisan visited, the amount of the relief being decreed according to lodge membership. A more sinister sounding 'secret society' lodge system, to which reference is also made, suggests the existence of an illegal organisation during the period of the oppressive Combination Law.⁵ Matsumura has traced the existence of a local branch of the Flint Glass Makers' Friendly Society in Newcastle as early as June 1755 which was still functioning at the turn of the nineteenth century. Matsumura has further revealed that by the mid-1830s a national federation had been established for the purpose of tramp relief by 25 district flint glass-

makers societies throughout the United Kingdom, with some 646 artisan members.⁶ As a result of opposition by manufacturers in the Birmingham and Stourbridge district the society, to quote Matsumura,

"faded away".

Probably the organisation was driven underground rather than destroyed for by 1844 a more powerful society with 850 members nationally had re-emerged as the United Flint Glass Makers' Society.⁷

Trade union organisation amongst the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers is of more recent date than that of the flint glass industry which has a longer history. Brundage notes a reference in the Webb MS collection to a glass bottle makers friendly society at Castleford in 1830⁸ and George Howell states that a union of glass bottle makers existed in 1827 which in its re-organised form continued throughout the nineteenth century.⁹ The reprinted Code of Rules of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire Trade Protection Society of 1906 contains a statement by Central Secretary, Alfred Greenwood that

"The Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire Trade Protection Society, as far as can be ascertained, seems to have originated shortly after the industry was introduced into the County, or at all events in the first half of the nineteenth century".¹⁰

The statement accords with Howell's, suggesting the existence of a trade union while the industry was confined to Hunslet and implies an earlier date than that supposed by the Webbs, which is co-incidental with the establishment of the industry at Castleford about 1830. The Webbs regarded the earliest foundation of the bottlemakers as a friendly society and it would doubtless have to present itself as such at that time. Greenwood, however, clearly regarded the society as a bona fide trade union stating

"..... it is quite evident that the Glass Bottle Hands, when the trade was in its infancy, realised the importance of organisation; and made an effort to form themselves into a union."¹¹

The earliest extant evidence of the existence of such a union concerns the Castleford-based Glass Bottle Makers Society which, according to Greenwood was

"established March 16th, 1838, in Castleford",¹²

although this does not necessarily preclude earlier attempts at union organisation for Greenwood qualified his statement by adding

"If this is not the first code of Rules for the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Hands, it is the oldest we possess".¹³

It would seem that the beginnings of both glassmakers' societies developed from locally-based informal associations arising from mutual fellowship and common craft skill. Such associations met at a common rendezvous, usually a public house, to discuss matters concerning their trade. The pattern of development is discernable in the 1843 Rules of the Castleford Glass Bottle Makers which gives the venue for the meetings of the Society as

"... the house of William Brown, Castleford", and stipulates that of each member's contribution of one shilling and nine pence, three pence shall be spent on the purchase of liquor.¹⁴

Casual examination of the terminology, ritual and underlying psychology of the early Rules governing the organisational structure of both societies suggests their evolutionary development from some older, time-tested system of trade control such as the journeyman guilds.¹⁵ While such consideration is peripheral to this study, there can be no doubt that traditional observation from whatever source provided a cohesive basis for the development of trade unionism within the ranks of the glassmakers.¹⁶ Statistic similarities, in rules and organisation, common characteristics featured on trade banners and regalia, concepts of craft exclusivity and fraternalism, parallel aspects of procedure among autonomous regional union branches, suggest a common origin based on traditional rights and customary practice, but modified and amended in accordance with local conditions as the craft spread from its original locations to new and rapidly changing industrial areas. It was the core of customary observation, reinforced by ties of kinship, and communicated by itinerant artisans which provided the groundwork for the rapid and effective organisation of trade unions among the glassmakers during the nineteenth century, as well as producing the conservatism and craft exclusivity which contained the elements of sectionalism and a degree of difference that on occasion produced disunity. The practical manifestation of such elements is exemplified in the following case study.

(b) PRIMITIVE DEMOCRACY: A CASE STUDY - CASTLEFORD GLASS
BOTTLE MAKERS SOCIETY, 1843

(1) The Socio-economic dimension.

The Articles of the Castleford Glass Bottle Makers Society dated 27th February 1843¹⁷ provide valuable insight into the method of organisation and administration of a town-based trade society in early Victorian years. The Articles also serve to assist an understanding of the predominant role of the Castleford Branch in the subsequently expanded County-based Society of which it formed the nucleus.

The Society probably evolved from a desire by tradesmen regularly meeting on an informal social basis, to provide some form of mutual assistance in the event of individual need arising from trade or social adversity. Such gatherings gradually assumed a semi-formal nature as a 'box club' dispersing friendly society benefits such as those described by Kiddier and Turner.¹⁸ Growing membership necessitated a more formalised structure in order to ensure orderly conduct and procedure and efficient administration. These considerations resulted in a formally constituted organisation with codified rules.

The early rules of the Glass Bottle Makers consist of some thirty articles of which two thirds are concerned with the maintenance of law and order, both in the context of the monthly meetings of the members and the administrative duties of the appointed officials.¹⁹ The residual articles are concerned with the social aspects of benefit provision of which the relief of tramping artisans was the most important provision, having a direct bearing on the social circumstances arising from the conditions of trade. Tramp money was provided by a levy on members and was payable on the 'Saturday before the month night' and any unemployed members leaving the town to seek work elsewhere were granted a levy of 1/- per member plus all money paid into the box by the itinerant member, all of which was required to be repaid in the event of the tramp returning to the town before the expiration of one year.²⁰ The mutual provision of tramps by the various regional societies shows a high degree of fraternal organisation even in an era of slow communications and trade isolation. Tramp relief was dependent upon production of commonly

identifiable and acceptable documentation, such as members' contribution cards and certificates of clearance issued by officials of any particular district.²¹

The Rules give much emphasis to the box and its contents, thereby underlining the social basis of the society. Of the 1/9d per month paid as individual subscription, 1/6d was to be placed into the box, together with the 5/- per member payable as enrolment fee, and all additional sums.

The principle^{al} benefit disbursement was that concerning the death grant payable upon the death of a member or a member's wife, and also upon the death of a member's child if over one month old²² for it was stipulated that

"... no money shall be taken out of the box until the above sum (i.e. £5) shall be collected by the subscription of 6d per week from each and every member".²³

Financial provision of 9/- per week was also made for the sick and the lame and stringent stipulations, including the referral of the beneficiary to a medical representative nominated by the society and paid for by subscription, if deemed necessary.²⁴

A further social provision was the holding of an annual fraternity feast on the first Monday in June, the expense being met by the Society from the accumulated fines which were levied for all breaches of the Society Rules

"... if there be sufficient in the box, and if not the rest to be risen by subscription".

Any member unable to attend the feast by reason of sickness was to be provided with his dinner and two pints of ale. The holding of the feast on a Monday would accord with the irregularity of work practised throughout the trade at a time when Saint Monday was a common observation, although the first Monday in June would co-incide with the Whitsuntide festival, later observed as a trade holiday.

The extent of welfare benefits provided from the subscriptions and levies of a membership counted by the score rather than in hundreds²⁵ indicates both the economic status of the journeymen glassmakers and their social standing and organisational ability in a period when the wages and social standing of many workers were debased.

The meetings of the Society were held at the (public) house of one William Brown, with 3d per member from the monthly subscription being used for the purchase of liquor. The consumption of a stipulated amount of drink was a form of room rent, previously agreed with the landlord, and at the same time was an incentive to members to support the business of the union by prompt and regular attendance.²⁶

It is interesting to note the moral content of the Rules with numerous Articles specifying fines for the neglect of Society business. The fines covered a myriad minor issues, to more serious offences such as fraud and embezzlement,²⁷ and even touched upon wider societal issues such as drunkenness and gambling in public,²⁸ and disorderly conduct violating "the peace of the Realm" and even cohabitation.³⁰ Such rules by statement and by implication reveal social attitudes, based on high-minded principles and prevailing morality which are at variance with the general attitude and conduct prevailing among the majority of labourers during the early decades of the nineteenth century and would seemingly present prima facie evidence to suggest that a noticable degree of social and economic status attached to artisan glass bottle makers even before the onset of the period of trade prosperity which formed the basis for the classical age of labour aristocracy.

A degree of waywardness regarding payment of dues is implied, however, in the ban to be imposed on the clerk of the Society, accompanied by a 1/- fine should he prove to

".... favoureth purposely any Member in non-payment of his arrears".³¹

Despite numerous measures designed to enforce a disciplined membership, it is noticable that the only mention of possible expulsion from the Society was for any member seeking to break up the Society. This is not surprising for the expansion of the Yorkshire trade was already underway by the mid 1840s and it was vital to the existence of the union and the control of the trade by its members that the influx of unorganised migrant labour being drawn to the area should be recruited, thus preventing diminution of the existing status of the artisans. To this end the Society sought to perpetuate itself by decreeing that it should not be broken up as long as any three members were willing to observe the Rules and Regulations.³²

It is the conduct of Society meetings and the daily administration of Society affairs which is the most significant factor concerning the rules of the town-based society, for it is in these spheres that the system of primitive democracy is most evident. In this respect the rules of the Castleford Glass Bottle Makers' Society are particularly valuable in that they provide a yardstick by which the degree of evolutionary change may be measured.

(ii) The Administrative Function.

The administration of the Society presents a classic example of the exercise of primitive democracy as revealed by the research of the Webbs.³³ The functions of the Society were undertaken by the members who served in various capacities according to nominal rotation.³⁴ The duties were undertaken on a quarterly basis, the system and periods of short service ensuring a measure of democratic control by the rank and file membership, affording all the opportunity to serve and thereby preventing oligarchical control.³⁵ The system had, however, the obvious drawback of placing the business of the Society in the hands of the less able and even illiterate members as well as the naturally gifted. For this reason perhaps, the Castleford Society modified the system to one of nomination with a fine of 1/- for refusal to stand for election by those nominated.³⁶

The principal officer was the President, whose duties consisted of conducting the monthly meeting and responsibility for holding the box containing the Society funds. The President was assisted by two Stewards who undertook the respective duties of Receiving Officer and Treasurer.³⁷ The quarterly rotation of these officials was a financial safeguard at a time when such organisations had no protection of funds and no legal redress against embezzlement or misappropriation by union officials. As a further precaution the articles of the Society decreed that the outgoing President and Stewards should

"... deliver up a full and particular account
of all the money they have received, and
likewise, what money they have in the box".³⁸

This formal exercise of joint responsibility provided a further check against possible abuse with a fine of 2/6 being levied, for failure to comply. The hours for the transaction of Society business were closely prescribed, 'seven o'clock, or 'quarter past' being the point of commencement, with no payment being taken after half past eight, and the book being closed at nine o'clock.³⁹ The limitation of time,

together with the issuing of individual contribution cards, was an obvious attempt to prevent fiscal abuse.⁴⁰

Other Society officials included a Porter who acted as door Steward and allowed no entry or exit during the transaction of business without first informing the Clerk, of whom it was decreed

"That no person shall be Clerk of this
Society who is not a member of the same".⁴¹

By binding the Clerk to the Society by means of enforced membership a degree of loyalty was presumed which, taken in conjunction with the role of the Porter, reveals a deep-seated psychological desire by the Society members to secure their trade affairs against the knowledge or influence of outsiders. The extent to which this corporate feeling was a hang-over from the era of the Combination Laws or a subconscious manifestation of some primordial trade influence is open to conjecture, but secrecy was a recurrent element in the history of the Society and not only manifested itself in the expected sphere of industrial relations with the manufacturers, but also within the sphere of inter-union activity (cf Section II of Thesis, *infra*).

An important administrative provision enshrined in the Rules which acted as a check by the membership on those elected as acting officials was the stipulation that in the event of any doubts arising regarding the conduct of Society business, the President was empowered to call a committee of unspecified number from the ranks of the members to resolve the problem, each designated member being compelled to serve and being granted 3d from Society funds for fulfilment of the duty.⁴² In this provision is enshrined elements which embrace the eventual duality of government represented by the constitution of the Delegate Meeting and the Executive Council, the one enshrining the concept of Primitive Democracy, the other New Model Unionism.

CHAPTER THREE: Early Trade Unionism and Trade Custom

1. Webb S & B. History..... p 163.
2. F.G.M.M. Volume I, pp 26, 48, 104 - 106.
3. F.G.M.M. Volume III, p 1.
4. F.G.M.M. Volume IV, p 225.
5. Pelling H. A History of British Trade Unionism (Macmillan 1963) pp 31 - 32.
6. Matsumura, op cit, p 143.
7. Webb S & B. op cit.
8. Brundage, op cit, p 33. Webb Trade Union M.S. Volume A43, p 274.
9. Howell G. Trade Unionism Old and New. (Harvester Press 1973), p 55.
10. G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface p vi.
11. Ibid For reference to trade unions disguised as Friendly Societies cf Turner A H. Trade Union Growth, Structure and Policy - a comparative study of the Cotton Unions (G Allen and Unwin 1962) p 51.
12. G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface p vi.
13. Ibid p xiii. Brundage, relying on the 1843 code of Society Rules (reprinted G.B.M. Reports Volume IX, pp 451 - 453), gives this date as the one providing the earliest documentary evidence for the existence of a bottle hands society. Clearly, Brundage did not have access to the 1906 edition of the Society Rules containing Greenwood's reference to the earlier code, although the 1843 Rules are referred to as being "corrected and revised", thereby implying an earlier date of origin.

14. G.B.M. Society Rules 1843, Articles I and IV, op cit, p 451. Turner A H. op cit, p 58, for reference to use of inns and role of publicans in affairs of early trade unions.
15. Howell expressed the opinion that "without knowledge derived from a study of the guild system, the organisation, rules and operations of the trade unions cannot be understood", T.Us Old and New, p 2. Turner H A. op cit, pp 54 - 55, for effects of guild influence on foreign immigrants. Also cf Leeson R A. Travelling Brothers (Allen & Unwin 1979) p 276. The Webbs History.... pp 13 - 15, review the guild system but their conclusion is that trade unionism was a spontaneous manifestation in response to the conditions created by the Industrial Revolution and this view has, like so much else propounded by the Webbs, become the standard orthodoxy.
16. Brundage, op cit, pp 33 - 34, draws a comparison between the positive factors based on custom which created a sense of tradition and assisted the development of unionism amongst Yorkshire bottle hands and the slow development of unionism amongst the French glass workers. Joan Wallach Scott The Glass-Workers of Carmaux, (Harvard, 1974) for reference to retardation of trade union development due to lack of social contacts and for the cohesive factors arising from craft traditions cf Turner H A., op cit, p 54.
17. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, pp 451 - 453.
18. Kiddier W. The Old Trade Unions, (Allen and Unwin 1931) 2nd edition, p 12. Turner A H., op cit, p 58 and p 79.
19. Webb S & B. Ind' Democracy, p 3.
20. Articles of Castleford Glass Bottle Makers' Society, 1843, Articles XIII and XVIII, op cit, p 451.
21. Article XI, ibid.
22. Articles XVI and XVII, ibid, p 452.
23. Article XXI, ibid.

24. Article XV, ibid.
25. The total membership in the 1840s is not known, but by 1863, when the industry had multiplied, both within and beyond the town of Castleford, the membership was less than 500 (cf Chapter 7 Section (d)).
26. The Rules of the Castleford Society dated 1838, had stipulated a subscription of 1s 4d per month with 4d per member being spent on liquor to be consumed at the meeting. cf G.B.M. Society Rules, 1906, Preface, p vii. Also, Webb S & B, 'Ind 'Democracy' p 5.
27. Articles XXII and XXVIII Castleford Glass Bottle Makers' Society Rules, 1843, op cit, p 453.
28. Articles XXIV, ibid.
29. Article XXV, ibid.
30. Article XXVII, ibid.
31. Article XXIII, ibid.
32. Articles XXIX and XXX, ibid.
33. Webb S & B., 'Ind 'Democracy', Chapter 1.
34. Ibid, p 7.
35. Ibid, p 8.
36. Article VIII, loc cit, p 451.
37. Ibid.
38. Article IX, ibid.
39. Article VI, ibid.

40. Article XIV, ibid, stipulated that no payment was to be accepted without the production of a contributions' card. The members had to bear the expense of their own cards, a measure designed, perhaps, to obviate loss or misplacement.

41. Article XXIII, ibid, p 452.

42. Article XII, ibid, pp 451 - 452.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE PATTERN OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

To what extent did the assault on trade custom by the glass manufacturers necessitate changes in the administrative structure of organised labour? What was the effect of structural change on the attitude and behaviour of the unions and what were the consequences for the relationship of capital and labour within the trade industrially and socially?

The image of 'New Model' unions as pacific societies, totally opposed to militancy as expressed in strike action, has become the standard orthodoxy as a result of the interpretation of the Webbs through their History of Trade Unionism. Matsumura has shown that the Webbs not only misinterpreted the frequent denunciations of strikes contained within Volume I of the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine as a justification for their generally applied conclusion concerning the outright opposition to militancy of 'New Model' unions. Also, the decision of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to 'abolish' strike pay, in 1854, was misrepresented by the Webbs as the abandonment of actual strike action. The claim is one which Matsumura easily disproves.¹

Matsumura cites frequent instances of strike action by the Flint Glass Makers during the 1850s, sanctioned by the Central Council of the Society.² By judicious calculation based on consideration of conditions of trade it was able to control such activity, minimising the risk proposed strikes posed for the wellbeing of the Society by with-holding strike money. Less democratically, the same effect was obtained by delaying implementation of the Trade Vote required by Rule as a means of sanctioning strike action.³ What appeared to the Webbs as rejection of strike action was merely the application of discipline by central government to ensure tighter control of the strike weapon as a more effective means of securing trade objectives. The same manifestation of central authority is evident in the 1865 code of Rules of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers which stipulated

"That no strike shall be allowed in any district until the matter in dispute is brought before the whole trade".⁴

A seminal influence in the adoption of centralised governmental structure, resulting in the formulation of the above rule by the 'Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society, was the nature and outcome of the first major trade dispute within the County in 1856. The dispute commenced in November 1856 when the masters, in response to a downturn in trade, chose the most advantageous season of the year to lock-out their employees in order to enforce an all round reduction of six shillings per week. The dispute was of a sporadic nature, involving secondary issues concerning apprentice ratios and the undermining of price levels by the Society's co-operative.⁵ The dispute might have been averted had the workmen been able to adopt a uniform response to a compromise offered by the employers of a three shilling reduction. Such was the divisive effect of district autonomy, however, that

"Some were willing to accept 2/- reduction, only a small number would accept 3/-, but none would accept 6/-, and the majority would accept no reduction".⁶

The lock-out lasted eight weeks during which an almost complete stoppage occurred, the exception being the firm of John Lumb & Co., Castleford, where one furnace worked throughout.⁷ The dispute commenced in November 1856, at the firm of Scott and Taylor, Hunslet, where work recommenced in January on the masters' terms. The capitulation which was later ascribed as being

".... very much due to kinship", implying a degree of betrayal by some workers, did not precipitate the immediate collapse of the union resistance which continued for almost six months at some branches, but undoubtedly weakened the resolve of the members in general.⁸

The dispute engendered much bitterness and distress, particularly at Castleford where 'black sheep' who agreed to work at the reduced rates were waylaid and maltreated and where effigies of Edgar Breffitt and Thomas Marshall, Breffitt's factory manager, were burnt and thrown into the River Aire from the town bridge.⁹

The victory of the employers may be ascribed to the formulation and execution of a precise strategy which consisted of stockpiling wares in advance before launching a lock-out in the winter season when the degree of hardship caused by seasonal unemployment was only alleviated by Union donation. The action of the manufacturers in

precipitating the dispute should be seen in the context of a series of national and regional disputes in various trades during the years 1853 - 1860, representing a general struggle for control between capital and labour.¹⁰ In the strict context of the glass industry, the success of the Yorkshire manufacturers was influential in paving the way for the Lancashire manufacturers, who in December 1857 sought to impose a wage reduction of 4/- per week on their artisan workers and following a prolonged struggle, succeeded in achieving their aim in the spring of 1858.¹¹ The same year witnessed the assault of the Midland Flint Glass Manufacturers Association on the Flint Glass Makers Union, where the involvement of Lancashire manufacturers was a significant feature of the organisationally planned attack designed to extinguish the Society.¹² The responsive strategy of the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society enabled the union to withstand the pressures of the employers. Settlement of the prolonged dispute involved modification of union rules concerning wage levels and apprentice ratios was necessary. The Society, however, unlike its Yorkshire counterpart, emerged from the struggle as a viable and influential force too strong to be eliminated or even emasculated by the combined opposition of the manufacturers.¹³

The factors underlining the success of the Flint Glass Makers' Society were not lost on the defeated Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers. The unity of the flint hands with a centrally organised nationally based membership was the crucial factor. Central control of the Society had ensured unified action and prompt response to developments arising during the dispute, while national organisation had nullified the attempted orchestration of the employers in order to destroy the union. Centralisation had also enabled the membership in districts such as Yorkshire, where the effect of the employers' strategy was minimal, to continue working and thereby provide contributory income to the Society.¹⁴ In addition, the national organisation of the Flint Glass Makers' Society attracted the support of other trade unions which resulted in substantial loans and donations. The donations ensured the financial survival of the Society¹⁵ and pre-empted the attempted uniformity of the manufacturers through its existent administrative machinery and organisational unity.¹⁶ The contrast between the organisational structure of both glassmakers societies was made all the more apparent by their situation following the disputes: the Flint Glass Makers being of significance in developments occurring in the context of the wider labour movement

including the formation of the London Trades Council¹⁷ and the Bottle Makers rendered vulnerable and ineffectual in their parochialism. The reverse of 1856-57 compelled the Glass Bottle Makers to adopt self-protective measures, which although palliative, had far reaching consequences for the long-term outlook and development of their Society. In 1858, in response to an initiative by the Lancashire Glass Bottle Makers' Society, a nationally based amalgamation of regional bottle makers societies was established. Although of short duration, the Amalgamated Society was important in that it provided a degree of protection crucial to the survival of the Yorkshire Society. Under the aegis of the Amalgamated Society the Yorkshire Bottle Hands were able to undertake a brief and successful strike in 1860 which restored 50% of the amount by which wages were reduced two years earlier.¹⁸ That the Society had recovered sufficiently to mount an offensive against the employers owes as much to the fact that the Yorkshire manufacturers, unlike their Midland based contemporaries, did not establish a permanent trade association and were therefore unable to consolidate their gains, or more importantly, institute a united front with a policy based on common aims, as to the efficacy of the Amalgamation. The prime importance of the Amalgamation was that it provided the model for the reorganisation of the Yorkshire Society upon 'New Model' lines, when following the collapse of the Amalgamation, the Yorkshire Society reverted to full autonomy in 1862.

By 1866, the Yorkshire Society was sufficiently well organised to negotiate a wage increase which restored artisan wages to the pre-1856 level. The reversion to regional organisation had left the Society without direct contact with the wider labour movement. To obviate the deficiency and widen its power base by moral and financial sustenance, the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers Society joined the Sheffield based Alliance of Organised Trades upon its formation in June 1866. The Alliance represented about a hundred small trade societies whose purpose was to provide mutual assistance in trade disputes. The aloofness of the Junta influenced societies and the adverse effects of the Sheffield 'rattenings' resulted in the withdrawal of many of the original members and consequently the Alliance was wound up in 1870, at which date the Yorkshire Bottle Makers were the only paid-up Society.¹⁹ The practical necessity for allies in the wider union movement was clearly illustrated in 1867 when the York Glass Company provoked a strike by seeking to dismiss a number

of journeymen when closing down a bottle house. The measure was resisted by the bottle hands who regarded the reasons given by their employers as a pretext for dismissing the journeymen in order to increase the number of apprentices at the firm.²⁰ The unwelcome Union pressure led the Company to conclude that

".... the real question at issue was, whether we should hand over the management of that part of our business to the dictation of a few men in their club room at Castleford, or retain it in our own hands".³¹

As a result the company decided to dispense with Union men altogether²² and York Branch was closed and never reopened.²³ Prompted by the example of the York manufacturers and a phase of trade depression, the majority of the Yorkshire manufacturers issued notice of a 3/- all-round reduction of wages with effect from the 27th February, 1868.²⁴ The move was precipitated by the Hunslet manufacturer, William Brook, who motivated by events in Lancashire and Scotland where wage reductions had been enforced, convened a meeting of Yorkshire employers²⁵ which resulted in the issuing of the Yorkshire Notice and concluded in singular fashion by stating

"Any workman objecting to this (i.e. proposal) will be required to give his Notice in on the 22nd inst."²⁶

Immediately the document was published the Executive Council of the Glass Bottle Makers Society circularised all Yorkshire manufacturers to

".... beg most respectfully to request that you will receive a deputation from the Men to discuss in a friendly spirit the matter with you, as we are anxious to avoid any unpleasantness to reduce the wages, should a deputation not be received by you".²⁷

The somewhat obsequious tone of the circular, whilst perhaps, indicative of a burgeoning of 'New Model' pacifism, was clearly reinforced by the outcome of the York dispute, a fact clearly indicated by the conciliatory tone 'and the appeal to fair play' contained in the subsequent paragraph :

"we think, moreover, that you are in honour bound, as Gentlemen, to hear what we have to say against the proposed reduction; and, on the other hand, if you can show just cause why a reduction should take place, the men will at present consent to accept it".²⁸

The Council received no answer to their Circular and in consequence the attitude of the workmen hardened. The extent to which the attitude of the Union was interpreted as passivism by the manufacturers may be conjectured by the fact that at a subsequent meeting the Yorkshire employers, led by Mr John Scott of Hunslet, and supported by representatives of Lumb & Co., Sykes & Co., and Morton & Co. of Castleford,

".... complained most strongly ... that practices prevailed among the workmen (emanating from a glass bottle makers trade union) more unjust and oppressive to the masters than the 30 per cent advance at present paid to the journeymen....."²⁹

It was therefore resolved to meet delegates of the Society to put an end to the 'objectionable club rules'. The manufacturers sought the removal of union restraint on apprenticeship and the payment of half wages for 'fires out' (cf Chapter 2 Section(e), Supra). Failing to obtain satisfaction, the manufacturers supplemented the printed notice of wage reductions by a second written notice concerning the discontinuance of the objectionable practices, although the latter was not posted at every factory. The action of the employers represented the first occasion in the history of the Yorkshire trade that notices were posted in an attempt to reduce wages and alter trade regulations, the custom of the trade previously being to convey proposals of wage adjustment orally.³⁰

Legal opinion obtained by the Union confirmed the illegality of the masters' notice of intent on the grounds that the onus was on the employers to discharge hands unwilling to accept the proposed terms, and not require workmen rejecting such terms to terminate their employment. It was, therefore, decided to sue firms where wage reductions took place and formal notice was given which caused the withdrawal of the Notice by some manufacturers. Following an abortive

attempt by the manufacturers in general to forfeit the proposed wage reduction for an end to the objectionable practices, workmen at factories situated at Castleford, Masbro, Hunslet and Wakefield were in fact paid at reduced rates.³¹ The Executive Council refrained from issuing a summons to test the legality of the masters' action, hoping to reach an amicable settlement of the dispute and it was only when rank and file militancy threatened to over-ride Council authority and embark on mass strike action that pressure was applied which resulted in the withdrawal of both notices by the manufacturers.³² A settlement was reached simultaneously at the Breffit works where the dispute had assumed an added dimension following the dismissal of eight journeymen to facilitate the unrestricted advancement of apprentices through the stages of the trade. An agreement was concluded by which the Company accepted apprentice limitation and the submission of the issue of the discharged artisans to arbitration.³³

The parallels between the dispute in the flint glass industry 1858 - 1859 and that within the Yorkshire glass bottle trade a decade later are noticable. In each dispute the manufacturers, using a season disadvantageous to the workmen, sought to dictate their terms of employment, rejecting the conciliatory overtures of the unions and widening the parameters of the dispute. The issue of the 'Document' renouncing trade unionism by the flint glass manufacturers³⁴ taken in conjunction with their foregoing actions, represented a deliberate attempt to eliminate organised labour, and was reflected in the conduct of the directors of the York Glass Company and the stated intent of Edgar Breffit, on behalf of the Yorkshire manufacturers to free their workers from

".... the thralldom of those who would usurpe the office of masters without their responsibilities".³⁵

In both disputes the successful resistance of the unions was directly attributable to the adoption of centralised administrative systems based on 'New Model' principles of government. The effectiveness of reorganisation on a centralised basis was particularly noticable in the case of the Yorkshire dispute in which a regionally confined society comprising a mere 700 members, at a time of bad trade and within three years of centralisation, achieved victory over the employers which dictated the pattern of industrial relations for a decade. It was reorganisation on central lines which produced uniformity of action and the financial prosperity which underpinned

such action. In addition, it was the adoption of a 'New Model' system which brought the Society into contact with the wider labour movement enabling the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire to keep abreast of legislative developments. Through association with George Potter and the Junita leaders the Union was made aware of the implications of the Master and Servant Act of 1867, and of public opinion concerning the Trade Union Acts during the following decades, both of which, directly and indirectly shaped Union attitudes and actions.³⁶ The broadening of outlook by the Society is evident in the recourse to legal action, an innovative measure marking a significant departure from the parochialism of primitive democracy and the acceptance and use of sophisticated apparatus of a capitalistic society. Within the context of industrial relations the 1868 settlement was significant for two change elements, each contributive to the power of the union and the status of its members. The establishment of an apprentice ratio at Breffits, the factory of the largest and most influential manufacturer in Yorkshire, was of fundamental importance in obtaining a uniform system throughout the County trade and parallels the development in the Midland flint glass industry outlined by Matsumura.³⁷ By the establishment of the apprentice ratio the Glass Bottle Makers' Society ensured the removal of one of the greatest threats to the trade status of the artisan worker and the elimination of the single issue which had the greatest immediate potential for industrial dispute and disruption. The co-relation of the establishment of apprentice restriction with the recourse to the arbitration was at once a measure designed to reinforce the imposition of the apprentice ratio and an indication of the changed outlook of the Society in accordance with the 'New Model' philosophy of negotiation as the means of obviating settlement of disputes by recourse to strike action.

The elements which were influential in disposing the Glass Bottle Makers to seek the establishment of a Board of Arbitration and Conciliation had their origins in the trend which had developed in the Midland trades, where the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science had provided an intellectual forum for advocates of responsible trade unionism from the late 1850s.³⁸ The issue had exercised the minds of the Flint Glass Makers as early as 1860, when, following soundings from the Secretary of the Midland Employers Association regarding the establishment of a 'Conciliation Council',³⁹ a trade conference was held at Birmingham to discuss the proposal.⁴⁰

However influential the attempts by the Flint Glass Makers and Junta-led trade societies to formalise industrial relations in shaping the attitude of the Glass Bottle Makers, the lack of centralised administrative machinery within the Yorkshire Society rendered impractical any similar development until the late 1860s. Membership of the Alliance of Organised Trades with its active encouragement of boards of arbitration and industrial conciliation brought direct influence to bear on the Glass Bottle Makers' Society.⁴¹ Less directly, the part played by A. J. Mundella in the establishment of such bodies, first in the Midland industries, and later in the settlement of the South Yorkshire coal strikes and the subsequent formation of a Board for the South Yorkshire coalfield, was clearly influential in the decision of Conisbro Branch to propose the establishment of similar negotiating machinery within the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Industry.⁴² A further likely source of influence on the attitude of the Society was the existence of an arbitration board concerning the Leeds building trades, for the two industries shared a common bond in the person of George Potter, nominal leader of the builders and trade representative and advisor to the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society at that time.

The formulative influences are clearly evident, but what were the practical considerations underlining the Society's commitment to the establishment of joint industrial negotiation? The opinion of Central Secretary, William Bagley, that such a course

".... is the only principle by which employers and employed can come to a perfect understanding with one another, and be entitled to settle any question which may arise in a friendly spirit, and a consideration of each others interests, thereby preventing such disastrous consequences as accrue from a spirit of antagonism",⁴³

may represent the manifestation of 'New Model' philosophy and an overt expression of responsible behaviour calculated to gain public approval. Such opinions, though sincerely expressed, were, however, motivated by a considerable degree of self interest and self preservation. The abortive attempts of the Society to institute joint consultation as a means of settling the York dispute and, initially, during the wider dispute of February 1868, had brought the realisation that a conciliatory attitude alone was not a sufficient means of obtaining the

acceptance of union authority and stability by the manufacturers. The institution of a formally recognised element of trade negotiation was the corollary, assuring the reinforcement of central power, uniform conditions of work and the status conferred by such development.⁴⁴ A further consideration by the Executive was the pursuance of joint negotiating machinery as a means of curbing the independent action of individual branches during trade disputes, particularly with regard to unsanctioned strikes.⁴⁵ The weakness of the Executive in this respect had been emphasised by the militancy of the branch rank and file who precipitated the conclusion of the 1868 dispute by willingness to disregard Executive authority.⁴⁶ Allied to the desire of the Executive to control militant action was the awareness of the necessity to safeguard Society finances, not merely to ensure the continued prosperity of the Society, but in order to underwrite the widening range of welfare benefits offered to artisans in order to secure industrial control by monopoly of skilled manpower. The 'new outlook' of the Society concerning industrial arbitration represented an adaptation of the traditional system of statutory arbitration by Justices of the Peace in former times and as such may have represented a subconscious manifestation of the desire to revert to customary trade practices.⁴⁷

As a result of the Conisbro Branch initiative special meetings were called by the Delegate Meeting for all branches,⁴⁸ resulting in a trade vote in favour of establishing an Arbitration Board subject to the agreement of the employers.⁴⁹ A steering committee consisting of members drawn from various branches was appointed by the Executive Council with Martin Waters of Castleford Branch as its Secretary.⁵⁰ All glass bottle manufacturers throughout Yorkshire were circularised thus

"Gentlemen, - having seen and known by past experience the disastrous effects of Strikes and Lock-Outs, upon both employers and workmen generally; and strikes having been resorted to in settling past grievances in connection with our trade, and being desirous in the future of avoiding such effects, we submit to your serious consideration the subjects of arbitration and conciliation, which are now being successfully and beneficially carried out in various parts of the country, and which, we believe, might be adopted by you and us with like results.

Should the foregoing suggestion meet with your approval, we shall be glad to co-operate with you in establishing a Board of Arbitration in connection with our trade, as early as possible."⁵¹

Most firms responded; some favourable to the suggestion, others being more evasive. Some firms did not reply at all and were again circularised. As a result the Steering Committee, convened at the Station Hotel, Normanton on the 5th June, requested the Council to appoint one member from each branch, and as far as practical, including the members of the Committee itself, as a delegation to meet the manufacturers who were circularised and invited to meet the workmen at the same venue on the 21st June. At the ensuing Conference, attended by seven manufacturers and twelve workmen⁵² a sub-committee of three from each side was appointed to consider the Rules prepared by the workmen's representatives the previous week.⁵³ The Rules were printed and sent to all County manufacturers. At the second joint Conference on the 17th July 1869, the Rules submitted by the Joint Sub-Committee, together with several additional proposals, were adopted and it was resolved that the initial meeting of The Board, be held 11th September.⁵⁴

The Rules stipulated

"That the Board shall consist of an employer and a workman from each firm who shall serve for one year and, who shall be eligible for re-election."⁵⁵

An annual meeting each June was to elect the Board officials including dual secretariate. In addition, an annually appointed Committee of three representatives from each side was to act as a conciliatory group prior to the referral of any issue to the whole Board whose decision by ballot was to be binding on all parties. In the event of the Board being unable to reach a satisfactory settlement, provision existed for the dispute to be referred to a neutral referee.⁵⁵ The Council agreed unanimously to allow each Branch to elect its own Board representatives, who were to receive remuneration comparable to that paid to representatives to the Delegate Meetings.⁵⁶

Despite elaborate preparation on the part of the Society Executive, the Board of Arbitration and Conciliation was never put to use.

Brundage has cited the minimal influence of Union officials in the direction of industrial disputes as the reason for the stillborn nature of the project, substantiating his claim by reference to Greenwood's criticism of branch decisions to call strikes without the prior approval of either the Delegate Meeting or the Council.⁵⁷ Such examples are too infrequent to constitute the sole, or even principal, reason for the⁵⁸ abandonment of the Board; on the contrary, as indicated above, the likely assertion of branch unilateralism reinforced the opinion of the Executive Council in the value of a Board. The subject of arbitration met with a lukewarm response from a substantial section of the Society's rank and file membership, a fact indicated by the indifference of the members when trade votes were taken concerning the issue.⁵⁹

While presenting a prima facie support for Brundage's assertion, it must be borne in mind that indifference does not necessarily constitute hostility by the rank and file and that the acceptance of the Executive proposals and the adoption of the Rules by even a minority of the total membership, represents the endorsement of the principle by the Society. Other reasons must therefore be sought to explain both rank and file indifference and the failure to implement the newly established Board. What were the reasons for the slow acceptance of voluntary industrial arbitration by the Society and rank and file? Howell has noted the effects of five centuries of discrimination between masters and men, condoned by Church and State as the prime factor.⁶⁰ The continued application of the Master and Servant Act during the period of arbitration development within the Yorkshire Glass Industry exemplifies Howell's point and doubtless played a substantial part in the shaping of artisan attitudes. It is a significant indication of the mistrust of a substantial element of the rank and file members of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society, compared to the forward looking, more conciliatory attitude held by Executive members, that the Council felt it necessary to send a deputation of three Society officials into every branch for the purpose of explaining the working of the Board and provide information on the subject of arbitration prior to the trade vote on the issue.⁶¹ Yet despite the lack of fervour of some artisans, the principal reason for the failure of the Society initiative was the negative attitude of the manufacturers. The reluctance of many employers to respond to the union initiative has been noted above. Such an unwilling response in itself did not auger well for the cause of arbitration but when in addition, the

omission of several leading Yorkshire manufacturers, particularly Kilner and Breffit, from the participatory process which resulted in the establishment of the Board, it is clearly evident that Pollard's conclusion that lack of cohesion amongst employers was a signal factor in the failure of arbitrational schemes, is applicable in the case of the Yorkshire Bottle industry.⁶²

Allen and Porter have each stressed the long-term disadvantages to the unions in industries in which arbitration and conciliation were formalised features.⁶³ While Howell has noted that the utilisation of joint negotiating machinery when applied to wage agreements, was a violation of political economy in as much as it dictated future wage levels and thus denied to the worker the advantage to be gained from favourable conditions of trade.⁶⁴ The evidence of several industrial boards is available to support such an assertion, showing that the system provided a much greater degree of flexibility to the employers to reduce costs in time of trade depression than it afforded to the unions to advance wage levels at times of trade prosperity.⁶⁵ The choice of arbitrators was also advantageous to the employer in as much as the role was usually filled by a person who lacked practical knowledge and experience of particular industrial processes and, in order to obtain the confidence of the manufacturers, was drawn from the same social milieu.⁶⁶ Given the above advantages to their side it is necessary to ask why the Yorkshire Glass Bottle manufacturers were less than enthusiastic concerning the adoption of industrial arbitration and conciliation. By acceptance of formal negotiating machinery the manufacturers would provide de jure recognition of the union as a permanently established section of the trade. In a craft governed by traditional rules regarding workshop practice on which the union permitted little or no scope for change, the employers could expect a limited role for arbitration.⁶⁷ The move would be contrary to the aims of the more progressive employers who regarded the union as an impediment to their attempts to rationalise the industry and to speed the course of rationalising tendencies by destruction of union power and influence. The attempts of leading manufacturers such as Kilner and Breffit to impose new workshop practices does much to explain the distrust of the rank and file unionist to the proposals by Society leaders for the system of arbitration. A second, less natural element of mistrust on the part of the manufacturers was mutual jealousy and secrecy. Joint negotiation machinery required precise data concerning costs, selling prices and profit

margins, particularly when applied to uniform wage levels. In an industry in which the majority of manufacturers were ex-artisans, influenced by the traditional 'mysteries of the craft', and facing intensified trade competition, it was to be expected that a cautious attitude should prevail. It was for this reason that no permanent employers' organisation had developed from the ad hoc associations commonly convened in time of industrial disruption. The absence of a permanent association was an influential factor in the defeat of the employers in 1868 and also in the variable response to the Union's arbitration proposals and the abortive outcome of the scheme.⁶⁸ The resolution by the Executive Council

"That the Report of the Deputation relating to Arbitration be submitted to the members, and that they shall state whether or not they are in favour of establishing a Board to consist of only part of the employers,"⁶⁸

indicates both the genuine desire of the Union to promote joint negotiation with the employers, and the aloofness of an important element of the manufacturers concerning the subject. The result of the ensuing trade vote indicates the negative response of the rank and file artisan⁷⁰ whilst the necessity for the framing of the resolution and the vote upon it, provides clear evidence as to why the established machinery was never put to use.

What were the effects of the failure to establish an effective system of arbitration on the industry? Undoubtedly the failure worked to the advantage of the workmen with regard to short-term material gain. The disunity of the employers and the advent of unparalleled prosperity in the early 1870s, reinforced the power of the union, enabling it to enforce a uniform system of wages, overwork rates and production levels constituting the basis for both in April 1872, and advancing wages to unprecedented levels during the years 1871 to 1876. In addition, financial gains were made by the workmen in respect of payment for spoilt bottles⁷¹ and uniform rates for pot setting.⁷² Gains were also apparent in other spheres influencing trade status and thereby enhancing the socio-economic advancement of the artisan. The workmen were able to impose upon the manufacturers the acceptance that no 'demotion' occur as a result of production cut-backs.⁷³ Parallel restraint on upward trade mobility was also exercised by the codification of proposals regarding apprentice limitation and the sustained campaign to enforce uniform acceptance of the suggested ratio upon the

manufacturers.⁷⁴ The judicious exercise of power by the governing elements of the Society enabled the attainment of a closed shop situation by 1871, which further assisted the Society in the realisation of its industrial aims.⁷⁵

The attainment of industrial objectives by the Society, was not achieved without opposition, particularly on the part of Kilner Bros. of Thornhill Lees and Conisbro. As a result the years 1869 - 1871 are characterised by sporadic localised trade disputes as individual employers sought to resist Society dictates, with frequent threats and recourse to litigation by both sides. In 1869, John Scott of Hunslet, a strong opponent of the Glass Bottle Makers' Union, provoked a dispute by suing a member of the Society for breach of contract following the workman's refusal to work with apprentices contrary to the Union's Apprentice Rule.⁷⁶ In consequence of wages being withheld by Scott, despite an assurance from a fellow manufacturer of the artisan's right to full wages, the Society was reluctantly compelled to take legal advice with a view to summonsing Scott and it was only as a result of a legal technicality that the employer was not sued.⁷⁷ The same year (1870) Sykes & Macvay, of Castleford, sued a workman for breach of contract under the Master and Servant Act, claiming £10 compensation for neglect of work through drinking. The case excited the utmost interest amongst the Glass Blowers of Castleford, and it was reported that in the event of an adverse decision being given a strike would ensue. It was estimated that between 300 and 400 persons were present to hear the verdict given in favour of the workman, causing a similar case against a second workman to be withdrawn.⁷⁸ The Society Executive seem to have adopted a policy of 'divide and rule', seeking to avoid widespread disruption in pursuit of blanket acceptance of Society aims but making piecemeal gains by confining disputes to individual factories in which violation of trade custom or Union policies occurred. While such a policy accorded with the 'New Model' idealism it is apparent that equal consideration was given to the avoidance of general confrontation which would result in the coalescence of the manufacturers to offer resistance to the fulfilment of Society aims. Thus when Wakefield Branch proposed that the employers be presented with a code of working Rules for the regulation of trade, the Delegate Meeting refused to comply with the Branch proposal.⁷⁹ Again, the Executive employed delaying tactics to forestall militant action by declining to take trade votes in response to branch resolutions on the grounds that such a course be deferred pending visits and reports by Executive appointed delegations

to factories in dispute with the employers.⁸⁰ The protracted nature of the industrial struggle bred bitterness on both sides and added frustration to the employers as the boom of the early 1870s tilted the balance of power in favour of organised labour. Contrary to the situation which Matsumura has noted in the Midland flint glass industry, where following the 1858-59 dispute⁸¹ a balance of industrial power prevailed, resulting in joint negotiations accompanied by social harmony and intercourse, a hostile atmosphere existed within the Yorkshire glass bottle trade after 1868. From 1871, the combination of improved trade and the growing supremacy of Union power muted the overt manifestations of opposition by the manufacturers who were led to resort to alternative methods of production in order to counter or bypass the impositions of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society.

The adoption of continuous gas furnaces by firms such as Sykes Macvay, Castleford, Kilners, Thornhill Lees, and Alexander & Co., Hunslet, represent investment in new technology as a means of increasing the size and pace of production, particularly when utilised in conjunction with double shift working. At the same time such measures were accompanied by technical experimentation undertaken with a view to the successful production of machinery designed to weaken and ultimately render obsolete manual craft skills, and thereby wrest productive control which was the basis of union power from the artisan workers. A more subdued measure adopted by some employers from 1869 onward, was the replacement of glass bottle by flint bottle houses. The employers were encouraged in their transitional tendencies by the pacific attitude of the various Central Committees of the Flint Glass Makers' Society during the 1860s and 1870s which, though it discouraged militancy amongst the Yorkshire flint glass bottle makers, invariably supported them in disputes with the Glass Bottle Makers. Thus, in 1864, a threatened strike by Yorkshire hands was prevented by the intervention of the Central Committee which accepted a partial wage advance rather than the 10% sought by the members,⁸² whilst in 1875, the deputation of Central Committee members called from Stourbridge to investigate complaints of overcrowded conditions by flint glass bottle hands employed at Wood Bros. Barnsley, refused to support the aggrieved hands and reproved them for their interference in the employers' workshop arrangements.⁸³ To a minority group in terms both of Society and the County trade, the failure of the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to give support to the Yorkshire

flint glass bottle hands reinforced the deterioration in the wages and status of the flint hands compared to the Glass Bottle Makers.⁸⁴

One aspect of the socio-economic inferiority of the flint hands is seen in the failure to attain standardisation of wage levels until late 1875, almost four years after the Glass Bottle Makers.⁸⁶ Variable wage rates amongst the Yorkshire region's flint bottle factories provided an economic incentive to some Yorkshire manufacturers to close bottle houses and re-establish or replace them with flint glass bottle houses. In this practice the employers were assisted by technical improvement to hand tools which resulted in greater output and the erosion of previously observed lines of demarcation concerning the type of wares produced by each method of manual production.

Short of strike action, the most common strategy adopted by the Glass Bottle Makers in pursuit of industrial objectives was the 'tantum', a limitation of chair output.⁸⁶ From its initial use as a customary assertion by the artisans of the right to leave off work upon attainment of the 'move', the tantum was developed as a restrictive measure to prevent over-production with its twin dangers of unemployment and debasement of wages and status. By the late 1860s, the tantum had further developed as a weapon for applying pressure to the manufacturers in order to gain acceptance of union policies. During the 'boom' of the early 1870s, the 'tantum' was a particularly effective threat. Its limitation at less prosperous times was illustrated in February 1870 when Masbro branch imposed a 12 gross per week limit on 'plus' production. The employer responded by providing the flint hands with the moulds and tools left by the bottle hands and increasing the moves undertaken by the flint hands from six to nine per week.⁸⁷ As a result of the inability of the Executive to dispose of the problem without recourse to strike action, the onus was placed on the branch members to negotiate a satisfactory settlement with their employer.⁸⁸ With the downturn in trade from mid-1875, the use of the tantum as a medium for regulating the anticipated degree of unemployment was considered by the Society and at the behest of Castleford Branch the Delegate Meeting considered the imposition of a general and uniform limitation on overwork.⁸⁹ Widespread anomalies and even abuse of the system by individual artisans rendered the proposed measure impractical,⁹⁰ and foreshadowed the eventual abandonment of the 'tantum' as an industrial weapon some years later. The application

of the 'tantum' was, however, a feature of the trade disruption which occurred during the closing years by the decade.

The outstanding features of the period of trade disruption were the dispute at Messrs Kilners' works at Thornhill Lees and Conisbro in 1876, and that at the Sykes, Macvay factory at Castleford the following year. The former dispute involved the most recalcitrant manufacturer in the Yorkshire bottle trade, who had fought a largely successful defensive action on issues such as the apprentice question, observance of standard hours of work and workshop conditions.⁹¹

The artisans, aware of the onset of trade depression and the hostility of their employer noted, with suspicion, the larger than usual stocks being accumulated at the Kilner works and in February 1876, resolved to impose a tantum of £2 per week on all overwork by each bottle house. The restriction was objected to by Kilners who asked for its removal or, alternatively, its universal application throughout the County. The men refused to comply, considering a tantum to be unnecessary at factories where trade was good and stocks low and consequently their masters introduced stopper presses into each bottle house.⁹² It is not improbable that the motive of the employer was principally to ensure the working out of the metal remaining in the pots after the withdrawal of the artisans. The men claimed, however, of overheated conditions arising from the utilisation of the presses and also of the overcrowding, which cramped the movement of the chair, resulting in broken and damaged bottles. It was the opinion of the artisans that the presses had been introduced amongst them as a punishment for imposing the 'tantum' and when deputations to the employer failed to obtain a solution to the problem, the men left off work upon completion of the 'move' and requested the Delegate Meeting to sanction strike action.⁹³ Despite the unprecedented violation of customary trade observance that no secondary process of production was to be undertaken within the confines of the bottle house, the Delegate Meeting rejected the strike proposition, although allowing the men to leave off work at the number. In consequence of this decision, Kilner Bros. gave notice to all their workers on the 14th July and instituted a lock-out the following week.

Alfred Greenwood's claim at the height of the lock-out that the dispute could have been avoided but for a 'want of sympathy and forbearance' was applied to both sides and in indicating the existence of a hard core of militant artisans at the centre of the dispute who

had provoked their employer, also may explain in some measure the failure of the Delegate Meeting to sanction strike action at the behest of branch militants.⁹⁵ Nevertheless, despite the bellicose nature of a rank and file element amongst the membership, Greenwood's assertion that

"Had the workmen been as ready to strike as the employers were to lock-out the men at Thornhill Lees and Conisbro, the conflict would have been general,"⁹⁶

had substance, as evidenced by the Council resolution passed after commencement of the lock out

"That the members at Thornhill Lees try to bring about a settlement of the dispute, if possible by making some concession - such as altering the time of working, and increasing the supply of bottles, if their Employers will give them an assurance that the Presses shall be permanently removed, and that the goods asked to be made are not for strike purposes".⁹⁷

Whilst the resolution embodies the anti-strike sentiment of the Society Executive, it is clear that another factor motivated the Executive in its conciliatory attitude. Not least was the knowledge that Kilner Bros.' action was prompted following consultation with the newly established Association of Yorkshire Glass Bottle Manufacturers and sustained by pledges of economic as well as moral support (cf Chapter 5, *infra*). The manufacturers drawn together by reduced profits arising from trade depression and the need to resist union power, were ~~united~~ for the first time in their history by a formally endorsed constitution. The fact that the manufacturers insisted from the commencement of the lock-out that all representations by the workmen be communicated through the Secretary of the Association, represents an attempt by the employers to obtain de facto recognition by the Society.⁹⁸ The long-term implications of such recognition were, for obvious reasons, anathema to the Society and the refusal of the members

"to be governed by the Manufacturers Association"

explains the Council resolution to seek a localised settlement. The statement by the Thornhill Lees Branch that they had

"Submitted their grievance to their own employers and not to the Glass Bottle Manufacturers Association"

led the manufacturers to disregard the need for negotiation since they

"construed the letter to mean that the workmen would not acknowledge the Association."⁹⁹

Nevertheless, the Delegate Meeting on the 23rd September, resolved that the Central Secretary communicate with the Secretary of the Association to procure a settlement of the dispute. What were the circumstances which were instrumental in producing a volte face by the Union? Undoubtably the economic cost was uppermost with the rapid escalation in the number of the locked-out eligible for trade benefit being accompanied by an increase in the number of members unemployed through the depression of trade.

TABLE 4:1 SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF G.B.M. SOCIETY OUT OF WORK AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP IN RECEIPT OF TRADE BENEFITS DURING FOUR QUARTERS JUNE 1876 TO MARCH 1877

QUARTERS	STATE OF TRADE	OUT OF WORK AND NOT CLAIMING BENEFIT	No. members in receipt of benefit						
			OUT OF WORK	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS	STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS	
26 June 1876	Moderate	44	-	-	-	-	-	-	
18 Sept 1876	Bad	78	-	-	112	10.0	112	10.00	
11 Dec 1876	Bad	61	26	2.3	101	9.0	127	11.3	
5 Mar 1877	Bad	67	46	4.1	94	8.3	140	12.4	

Source: G.B.M. Reports Quarterly Branch Returns, 1876-77 passim

Table 4:1 shows that immediately prior to the lock-out, although 44 members were unemployed, none were entitled to Society benefit. Two and a half months into the lock-out 112 members, representing 10% of the membership, were receiving strike pay of £1 per week which cost the Society £1,456 per quarter, with 13/- per member in lost contributions. By the end of 1876 an additional 26 members to the 61

unemployed, who were disentitled to benefit, were in receipt of 9 shillings per week so that 11.3% of the Society members were in receipt of benefit at a quarterly cost of £1,468, a sum which required an additional levy of 2/- per week from each working member. At the end of the first quarter of 1877 when a settlement of the dispute had been effected, 12.4% of the membership were in receipt of trade benefit, with the sum of £1,491 per quarter being spent on trade benefits in addition to demands on Society finances from other welfare benefits. Nor was the need for financial provision restricted solely to Society members, for Kilners had locked-out their entire workforce in an effort to create anti-union feeling among the unskilled and the public in general.¹⁰⁰ The anxiety of the Executive of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society was reinforced by an awareness of the detrimental effect of the Scotch Strike of 1872. A 34 week dispute had resulted in the bulk of the trade being lost to that country, so that in 1876, Glasgow had only one third of the factories working of those in operation prior to the strike.¹⁰¹ At a special meeting of the Castleford Branch, 31st October 1876, Alfred Greenwood used the example of the Scotch strike to draw a parallel with the havoc a dispute of similar duration would create with the finances of the Yorkshire Society.¹⁰² In a passionate anti-strike Address, Greenwood sought to restrain the grass roots militancy of his members through the medium of the Report stating

"The consequences which proceed from Strikes and Lock-outs cannot be enumerated: but a few may be given in passing which are sometimes lost sight of during the agitation and excitement of a dispute:- The sympathies which exist between employers and workmen, and the ties of respect, and surely there are some, even if it be in a small degree, - are generally broken; and ill-will springs up which sometimes ends maliciously and vindictively. Black lists are issued, and manufacturies closed against the workmen to starve them into submission. The country is scoured for men to come to supply the places of those locked-out or on strike. Men of low morals and dissolute habits are imported into the neighbourhood where the dispute has taken place, which is often attended by

breaches of the public peace, followed by imprisonment and disgrace. A practice which proves futile, as the law is always found strong enough to put down disorder and riotous proceedings..... Disinterested persons have to sustain loss occasioned through the stoppage of works, loss of wages, and loss of local trade.... The employers attach blame to the officials and the workmen accuse them of bad management when results are against them.....

.....Domestic comforts are sacrificed, family ties are broken, and quarrels arise; sons are driven from their homesSociety's funds become exhausted, and private savings are spent. Then an **exodus** takes place, homes are broken up, hunger and privation are felt, the necessities of life are wanted, and the seeds of disease are sown which terminates in premature decay; and the aged who have become feeble and infirm are deprived of the assistance on which they have had to depend".¹⁰³

Greenwood's paragenic was at once microcosmic and prophetic. For by 4th October 1876, when both sides met to negotiate, a settlement had been made more difficult by the imposition of a tantum of £2 per hole on all overwork throughout Yorkshire.¹⁰⁴ The tantum was a response to three separate but interconnected actions undertaken by the employers. The first was the action of Blunn Bros., Kilnhurst, who had supplied Kilner Bros. with bottles, resulting in the workmen leaving off at the number. When the men disregarded a company notice, the firm sued for breach of contract and won the legal action.¹⁰⁵ On the 6th October 1876, the majority of Yorkshire manufacturers posted notices of an all round reduction of 3/- per week.¹⁰⁶ One manufacturer justified the proposed reduction on the low market price of bottles, and on the effect of colonial and foreign competition, another on the claim that wages in the Lancashire district were lower than those in Yorkshire.¹⁰⁷ That the 'tantum' was the underlying factor which was making business un-

profitable was revealed by Edgar Breffit who claimed that its imposition was costing him £2,000 a year in 'tenting' (i.e. founding).¹⁰⁸

The Union agreed to accept the reduction on condition that Kilner Bros. would re-engage all men locked-out in July. Submission to the proposed reduction was prompted by earlier developments at Thornhill Lees where Kilners had 'imported' men from the North of England district in an effort to break union power.¹⁰⁹ The situation not only threatened the 'closed shop' monopoly of the union but further endangered the socio-economic status of the members, since the men of the North were engaged under legal contract for a period of one year on terms which, although theoretically subject to arbitration, were heavily biased towards the employers and enabled them to disregard the conditions previously enforced by the Yorkshire Society. Furthermore, the implementation of the black list by Employers Association members whereby each refused to employ not only artisans but unskilled workers, dismissed by Kilners, intensified demand on union funds and more importantly, in face of the limited effect of an appeal by the Executive to

".... keep away from Yorkshire district, and not be tempted to come by promises made to them by the masters or their agents"¹¹⁰

increased the likelihood of an increased influx of foreign labour with disastrous consequences for the union. The acceptance of a wage reduction tied to resolving the dispute with Kilners represented a strategy of, hopefully, short-term adversity as opposed to long-term decline. The adoption of the strategy was also a means of bringing pressure to bear upon Kilners by Association members to reconsider their initial stance which was to re-engage locked-out artisans at their Consibro works, whilst retaining their contracted 'blackleg' workers at Thornhill Lees.¹¹¹ The dispute with Kilners was not finally resolved until the Spring of 1877. In the interim period the tantum of £2 per hole per week, continued to be applied despite the protestations of the Employers Association and their threat to sue the Society for damages in consequence of tantum imposition.¹¹² The threat of litigation, together with evidence that trade was being sent out of Yorkshire¹¹³ ultimately led the Council to propose

"That the time has arrived when in the general interest of the Society, the Tantum should be removed, and therefore it be removed".¹¹⁴

The Resolution, however, was rejected by the members¹¹⁵ and consequently in April 1877, the firm of Sykes Macvay, Castleford, closed their bottle houses and entered negotiations with the Flint Glass

Makers' Society to re-open the bottle houses as flint glass bottle houses. Correspondence opened with the Flint Glass Makers' Central Committee failed to elicit satisfactory information and in order to retain the work for its members, the Council recommended removal of the 'tantum', an action rejected by the rank and file who favoured strike action in the event of flint hands starting the bottle Houses.¹¹⁶

A protracted meeting between representatives of both societies at Castleford drew a response from the Secretary of the Flint Hands Delegation to the effect that

"We feel sorry that you should entertain the idea that we are working to your injury, especially knowing that whatever injures you as a class must ultimately, either in a less or greater degree, have the same effect on us."¹¹⁷

Nevertheless, the eight man D  legation unanimously rejected the Bottle Makers case and stated

".... that under the circumstances we don't feel justified in refusing the application of Messrs Sykes, Macvay & Co., for men to work the shop about to start as a flint house".¹¹⁸

The response led Alfred Greenwood to observe that

".... it appears to the Council that our Society has to fight not only the Masters Association and the men of the North of England District who have come to Thornhill and Consibro, but also the National Flint Glass Makers' Society".¹¹⁹

In addition, it was reported that in consequence of the 'tantum', bottle houses at Bagley, Wild & Co., Knottingley and John Lumb & Co., Castleford, were to be stopped and altered for working by flint hands.¹²⁰ As a result of the action of the flint hands, the Glass

Bottle Makers' Society were compelled to withdraw the 'tantum'.

The Delegate Meeting held at Normanton, 14th July 1877, voted for its unconditional withdrawal.¹²¹ Earlier attempts to obtain a conditional withdrawal had revealed such wide misapplication and abuse of the tantum that its use was thoroughly discredited, leading a workmen's Delegate at the subsequent meeting with Employers in December 1877, to remark

"The tantum is a thing of the past. It was wrong to put it on, but it will not be repeated".¹²²

The renunciation of the tantum did not expedite things for the Society for Sykes Macvay & Co. refused to find places for all the men locked-out with the result that trade union principles were forfeited as Glass Hands sought to gain personal advantage at the expense of others. The irony of the situation was not lost on Alfred Greenwood who noted

"Everyone considered he had the right to do the best he could for himself, regardless of others or the Society's Rules and principles, but "condemned the Flint Hands for taking their trade from them" (my italics) ¹²³

The 'dishonourable' conduct of the flint glass makers has been cited by one authority as an example of craft exclusiveness in which self-preservation overrode sympathy for fellow unionists to the extent that the

"Executive of the F.G.M.F.S. authorised the right of the members of the Bottle Section to play a role as black-legs".¹²⁴

The unprincipled role of the Yorkshire flint glass bottle makers in undermining the Glass Bottle Makers' position whilst morally indefensible^{ble} is, however, understandable when considered in purely practical terms. A combination of foreign competition and intensified domestic rivalry between the newly organised London Glass Bottle Makers and Blowers Society had, by 1875, begun to erode the markets for wares traditionally recognised as the productive sphere of the flint glass bottle makers.¹²⁵ The minority position of the Yorkshire flint glass bottle makers within their own Society had adversely affected their status in that not only was the nature of their work regarded as inferior by their contemporaries engaged in the table and domestic trade¹²⁶ but, because of its own particular problems and conditions, not readily understood by Executive officers drawn from the ranks of the table trade.¹²⁷ As a result, the position of the flint glass bottle makers had deteriorated vis-a-vis that of the Glass Bottle Makers during the early 1870s.¹²⁸

Because of booming trade (combined with technological advances which widened the productive capabilities of the flint glass bottle makers, and therefore made them increasingly economical in the eyes of Yorkshire

manufacturers), the proportion of flint hands had grown to about one fifth of the artisan workforce by 1875.¹²⁹ With the County membership at a maximum and faced with the prospect of declining craft and social status by adherence to the traditional range of productive wares, or utilisation of new technology in order to widen production and minimise potential unemployment, with its implications for Society finances, it is not, perhaps, surprising that the Executive of the Flint Glass Makers' Society placed the interest of its Yorkshire members foremost. In so doing it served the interests of the Yorkshire manufacturers at the expense of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire. Mitigating factors may also be found in the policies pursued by the Glass Bottle Makers whose industrial dominance prior to the mid 1870s led the rank and file to be overdependent upon traditional solutions such as the tantum, tramping and strike action, to industrial problems and to question and even repudiate the recommendations of the Executive when it sought to abandon discredited modes of industrial action. The closing years of the decade were marked by protracted wage negotiations against a confused background of dissent and militancy on both sides.¹³⁰ The successful application of law to prevent enforcement of a reduction in January 1878, resulted in the employers bypassing the union in October 1879 and the serving of notices on an individual basis of a reduction of 8.4%. The measure was received in silence by the workmen and as a result a general lock-out ensued.

Table 4:2 shows that in addition to the rapid increase in unemployed journeymen during the second half of the 1870s, a substantial number, varying between 40 and 100, were involved in trade disputes in each of the 21 quarters between May 1876 and December 1879. The dual trend reached its apogee when, as a result of the lock-out, October 1879, some 700 journeymen joined the 300 or so already out of work in consequence of severe trade depression. During 1879 alone, Lock-out Allowance of £3,977-8-0, and Strike Allowance of £337-10-0, supplemented by Travelling Benefit of £150-9-0, was paid in addition to £3,977-19-0, Unemployment Donation, making a total of £7,865-17-0, paid solely to the out of work, regardless of other benefits.¹³¹ The hidden cost to the Society, and also the cost in terms of human suffering and deprivation is seen in the number of out of work artisans throughout the period who received no benefit. Added to factors such as lack of entitlement through minimal membership qualification, or arrears accruing from individual improvidence or unwillingness to

TABLE 4:2

TABLE 4:2 SHOWING NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF G.B.M. SOCIETY OUT
OF WORK AND NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP
IN RECEIPT OF TRADE BENEFITS DURING 12 QUARTERS
MAY 1877 TO DECEMBER 1879

QUARTERS	STATE OF TRADE	OUT OF WORK NOT CLAIMING BENEFIT	No. MEMBERS IN RECEIPT OF BENEFIT					
			OUT OF WORK	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS	STRIKE AND LOCK-OUT	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS	TOTAL	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERS
28 May 1877	Moderate	42	1.5	1.3	80	7.0	95	8.3
20 August 1877	Moderate	67	14	1.2	59	5.1	73	6.3
12 Nov 1877	Bad	89	51	4.4	54	5.6	115	10.1
4 Feb 1878	Bad	89	159	14.0	57	5.0	216	19.0
29 April 1878	Bad	80	95	8.2	91	7.9	186	16.2
22 July 1878	Moderate	70	40	3.4	55	4.7	95	8.2
14 Oct 1878	Bad	106	116	10.0	50	4.3	166	14.4
6 Jan 1879	Bad	91	213	18.5	49	4.2	262	22.5
31 March 1879	Bad	86	200	17.2	98	8.4	298	25.6
23 June 1879	Bad	73	68	5.8	45	3.8	113	9.7
15 Sept 1879	Bad	72	176	15.1	43	3.7	219	18.8
8 Dec 1879	Bad	56	248	21.5	328	28.5	576	50.1

Source G.B.M. Reports, Quarterly Branch Returns, 1877-79,
passim.

pay contributions and levies, was the detrimental effect of the sustained application of the tantum which restricted earnings and made it more difficult for those in work to pay contributions.¹³² The cost to ^{the} Society was seen in the adverse effect on membership post 1876, as ^{men} were increasingly under the delusion that they were more likely to be retained in employment if known by their employers to be non-Society men.¹³³ By December 1879, although the lock-out had ended, it was as a result of the employers' initiative and settled on their terms. The terms comprised a reduction of 3/- per week, for a minimum of one year, subject to 3 month's notice in writing of any proposed alteration, observance of the 1878 List of Members and Over-work, and re-engagement of all artisans to be dependent upon an individually signed undertaking to comply with the terms of the Agreement.¹³⁴ Despite the settlement of the dispute, 632 members were still out of work, of which 576, representing over 50% of the total membership were in receipt of trade benefits. Of Members receiving such benefit nearly 60% were in receipt of Strike and Lock-Out Allowance and although numbers gradually diminished thereafter it was not until January 1881 that there was no further call for such payment

Abhorrence of strikes was ~~a~~ ^{to} common ~~(denominator concerning)~~ the Executive ^{attitude} of both glass makers unions, with each nevertheless accepting its use as a weapon of last resort. The disruption and [?] hostility which characterised industrial relations between the G.B.M. and their employers during the period 1850-80 stands in complete contrast with a degree of passivity and mutual harmony marking the affairs within the flint glass industry, even in times of trade adversity.¹³⁵ The situation contrasted with the disruption and mutual hostility which characterised the Yorkshire Glass Bottle industry. The reason for the divergence may be ascribed in part to the particular nature of the latter industry which was less diverse than its flint glass counterpart and undergoing a phase of rapid development within a restricted geographical area and therefore more prone to industrial innovation and its attendant upheaval. Nor should the psychological composition of employers and workmen be ignored, for a degree of mutuality underlies the determination of each side to enforce its will upon the other. The fact also explains the reason for inter-union conflict arising from the attempt of the progressive minority to establish a new pattern for Society and the resentful resistance to such change by a 'traditionalist' element amongst the rank and file. Such contributory aspects must, however, be secondary to the influential effects arising from the outcome of the 1858 - 1859 dispute within the flint glass industry and

that within the Yorkshire Glass Bottle industry a decade later. The settlement of the flint glass dispute was a compromise solution which maintained a balance of power between the opposing groups and ensured a measure of mutual respect and provided a basis for conciliation and industrial harmony. Within the Yorkshire trade the victory of the workmen following a decade of assault on trade custom in the aftermath of the crushing defeat of 1856, left the manufacturers in disarray and unable to withstand the impositions of the union aided by the booming trade conditions of the early 1870s. The ease with which the workmen were able to enforce their demands resulted in an attitude of contemptuous indifference towards the employers and also towards their own officials who urged caution and restraint in industrial relations and observance of Society Rules, and Executive authority.¹³⁶ Alfred Greenwood had no doubt concerning the root of the problems facing the Society in the period immediately following the conclusion of the 1879 lock-out

"The disasters which have befallen us are attributable mainly to PRIDE, from which have sprung many other bad qualities such as disension (sic) disaffection, want of unity, stubbornness, and 'selfism', which, however natural, will always prove destructive to organisations when carried beyond reasonable limits, and we have found it to exist amongst us to a fearful extent.....

.... In the DISREGARD shown by a great portion of our members for LAW and the Society's interest, lie the causes of our weakness and shameful defeat.....

.... We have abused our privileges, neglected our opportunities, mis-spent a large fortune, and now we may grovel in the dust".¹³⁷

Such misconduct in the face of serious trade depression had unified the manufacturers in bitter determination to destroy the union and thereby fulfilling Greenwood's earlier prophecy that

"The Society has got such a legacy as it will not easily and soon get rid of".¹³⁸

CHAPTER FOUR: The Pattern of Industrial Relations

1. Matsumura, op cit, p 186.
2. Ibid pp 187 - 188.
3. Ibid pp 188 - 189.
4. G.B.M. Society Rules, 1865 Rule 40. Reprinted in G.B.M. Reports Volume IX p 472.
5. The conflicting nature of the existing evidence makes definition of the central issue of the dispute difficult. John Wild's attribution at the 1868 T.U.C. of the cause of the conflict being the attempt by the Union to enforce a strict apprentice ratio, is at some variance with the statement of Alfred Greenwood that wage reduction was the principal cause. Greenwood's assertion is substantiated by Hardcastle, op cit, p 34, and enforcement of wage reduction would furnish a more probable reason for institution of a lock-out, but given variable district conditions, a myriad allied factors could have underlain the immediate cause, with varying emphasis been given at individual branches.
6. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 49.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid. Alfred Greenwood was employed at the Scott & Taylor works, Hunslet, at the time of the dispute and was an impartial observer, being a non-unionist at that time, G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 49. The reprinted Roll Sheets of the Society 1862-65, G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 340 include Greenwood in the list of non-Society men, but cf Beehive 17th January 1874 which indicates previous membership of the Society.
9. Hardcastle, op cit, p 34.
10. Howell, TU Old and New, p 59.
11. Miscellaneous Articles & Statistics, 1905-1910, p 196.

12. Matsumura, op cit, pp 197 - 198.
13. Ibid, pp 189 - 190 for details of the F.G.M's dispute, 1857 - 58.
14. F.M.M.M. Volume IX, p 340. Also, Matsumura, op cit, p 200 and Table 4:6 p 201.
15. Ibid, pp 211 - 212 For list of subscribers and donations cf Appendix H, ibid, pp 420 - 421.
16. For the unsuccessful attempt by the F.G. Manufacturers to establish a national organisation of comparable strength to that of the F.G.M. Society cf ibid, pp 213 - 214.
17. Ibid, pp 214 - 216.
18. Hardcastle, op cit, p 34 states 1859 as the date of the 3 shilling per week advance in G.B.M. wages, but Greenwood gives 1860 as the date of the increase, G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 49, a fact which is substantiated by reference to the Minutes of the Conference of The United Society, 1858, which contain a Resolution dated November 1859, recommending action by the Yorkshire G.B.M. to seek an advance in wages, G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 465.
19. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 426 and p 474. For reference to the origins and development of The Alliance cf Howell, TU Old and New, p 177, Coltham S. 'George Potter the Junta, and the Beehive, (International Review of Social History, Volume IX, 1964, Part 3) pp 407 - 408. Also, Musson A.E. The Origins and Establishment of the T.U.C. (in Trade Unions and Social History, pp 23 - 65. And Pollard S. The History of Labour in Sheffield (Liverpool U.P.) 1959, pp 146 - 147.
20. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 27 - 28.
21. Ibid, p 27, for Circular issued to the Yorkshire Manufacturers by The York Glass Company, 23rd February 1867.

22. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31. In response to a courteous letter from William Bagley, newly elected C.S. of the G.B.M. Society, the directors of the York Glass Company wrote
- ".... as it is not the intention of the Company ever again to employ any man who is in any way connected with the Bottle Makers' Trade Union - we must respectfully decline receiving the proposed deputation".
- Ibid, p 33.
23. Ibid, pp 32 - 33. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 45.
24. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 30 - 31.
25. Letter by Edgar Breffit, Leeds Mercury, 20th March 1868.
26. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Leeds Mercury, 20th March 1868. Breffit correspondence.
30. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 226.
31. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 36.
32. Ibid, pp 38 - 39.
33. Ibid, p 37.
34. Matsumura, op cit, p 205.
35. Leeds Mercury, 20th March 1868, Breffit correspondence.
36. cf Chapter Eight, Section (d) *infra*.
37. Matsumura, op cit, p 189 ff.

38. Alan V.L. The Origins of Industrial Arbitration and Conciliation (International Review of Social History, Volume IX, Part 2 (1964)), p 239.
39. F.G.M.M., Volume III, p 726.
40. F.G.M.M., Volume IV, p 62.
41. Allen loc cit, p 246. Also, Pollard, op cit, p 146 for reference to the encouragement given by the Alliance of Organised Trades to the establishment of boards of arbitration and conciliation during the 1860s.
42. In late 1868, Conisbro Branch petitioned the D.M. of the G.B.M. Society to seek the establishment of a Board of Arbitration and Conciliation for the Trade in order "... thereby to prevent evils which result from strikes and lock-outs". G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 34. The influence of A J Mundella is evident in the proposal of the E.C. of the G.B.M. Union to instruct the C.S. to obtain Mundella's advice concerning the formation of the proposed Board, ibid, p 147. cf Allen, op cit, pp 248 - 249 for Mundella's participation in the development of arbitration procedures in the South Yorkshire Coal Industry.
43. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 5.
44. Allen, loc cit, pp 241 - 242.
45. For examples of pre-emptive action by branches of the G.B.M. Society cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 27 and Volume II, p 261 and p 405.
46. At the Quarterly Delegate Meeting, 28th March 1868, it was stated that

".... members who were working and receiving the reduced rate of wages were determined to at once give in their Notices and leave their employment. Indeed, many of them were determined to take this step whether the Society gave them permission or not".

G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 38.

47. Howell, Labour Legislation, Labour Movements and Labour Leaders, T Fisher Unwin (1902), p 438.
48. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 5.
49. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 36. The subject was agreed by 253 votes to 28 with 39% of the Society's membership voting on the issue.
50. Ibid, p 145.
51. Ibid.
52. For names of representatives of both sides Ibid, pp 146 - 147.
53. The employers were represented by Messrs MacVay, Blunn and Morton, and the workmen by Messrs Wild, Waters and C S, A.Greenwood. It was proposed that the Conference be adjourned for two hours for the sub-committee to consider and approve the Rules, thus enabling their immediate adoption, but the employers strongly objected on grounds of insufficient time and other business commitments, Ibid.
54. Ibid, p 148. The second Joint Conference was attended by B.Ryland, J.Tillotson and H.Barran, manufacturers who were not represented at the earlier conference.
55. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 180 - 181.
56. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 148 - 149.
57. Brundage, op cit, p 43.
58. The only instances obtained in a thorough search of G.B.M. Reports are those cited Note 45 supra.
59. cf Note 49 supra. The vote on the adoption of the Rules of the Arbitration Board represented only 36.3% of the membership, with Castleford the principal branch, with a membership of 296, casting only 36 votes of which 33 were against adoption of the Rules. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 137.

60. Howell, Labour Legislation..... p 439.
61. G.B.M. Society Council Minute Book, Volume 1, p 96.
The three man deputation consisted of CS A. Greenwood,
J. Wild and S. Blackburn.
62. Pollard S, op cit, p 134.
63. Allen V, loc cit, p 254, regards the institution of arbitration and conciliation agreements as a mechanism for Union containment and a more effective system for disarming incipient trade unionism than either enforced agreements, lock-outs or repressive legislation. Porter J.H. 'Wage Bargaining and Conciliation Agreements', 1860 - 1914, Economic History Review, 2nd series, Volume XXIII, No. 3, 1970, pp 411 - 412 sees the too ready compliance with such schemes as the reason of loss of impetus by trade societies and a cause of divisiveness between leaders and their rank and file members.
64. Howell G., op cit, p 438. Howell sees the failure of the Arbitration Act of 1872, drafted at the insistence of the T.U.C. Parliamentary Committee, as being due to this factor which rendered it inoperable despite the theoretical support for the ideal by workers generally.
65. Porter J H., loc cit, p 474.
66. Ibid, p 462 and p 467.
67. Allen V. loc cit, p 242 and p 253.
68. Pollard S, op cit, p 134, notes the absence of permanent trade associations among manufacturers engaged within the Sheffield trades as an important factor preventing the establishment of industrial arbitration and conciliation boards. Allen V, op cit, p 242, argues that despite little permanent collusion, the employers were capable of joint action, as demonstrated by numerous lock-outs. Allen regards the effectiveness of such action as a reason for disregarding the necessity for arbitration machinery by the manufacturers.
69. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 300.

70. The vote of the trade on the Council resolution resulted in the rejection of a partial scheme by 208 votes to 62. The 270 votes cast represented 34.9% of the Society membership, op cit, p 299.
71. G.B.M. Society Reports, Volume II, pp 409 - 413 for origin of dispute at Thornhill Lees and subsequent survey which showed substantial branch variations regarding payment for bottles spoilt during annealing process. As a result of a trade vote it was decreed that the workmen would not stand the loss of more than one third of cracked or melted bottles in future. Ibid, p 455.
72. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 318.
73. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 30 - 31 for details of unanimous vote in favour of D.M. resolution "That on the laying-in of a house no member shall change from one branch of the trade to another at that factory: that is no bottle-maker shall take a blowers situation, or a blower take a gatherers situation.
74. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 260 and pp 312 - 314. Also cf Chapter Eight, Section (a) *infra*.
75. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 407, for example of action by the G.B.M. Society to withhold 'foreign' labour from an employer at a non-Society works by invocation of the 'Special Relationship' with the Lancashire G.B.M. Society. Also, ibid, pp 308 - 310 for pressure by Society on the Masbro firm of Shenton & Co., to dismiss John Purcheon, a member of the Society who had attempted to establish a non-union workforce at the factory.
76. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 327.
77. For origins of the dispute and the action taken by the Society cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 216 and Volume II, p 364.
78. Pontefract Telegraph, 25th June 1870.
79. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 459.

80. Ibid, p 417. In cases where strike action had taken place in defiance of the 40th Rule, the Executive sought to isolate the striking branch by minimising any subsequent vote on the issue through the exclusion of the offending branch from participation in the trade vote. This course was adopted with reference to Hunslet Branch cf op cit, pp 145 - 146.
81. Matsumura T, op cit, pp 218 - 223 records several instances of social gatherings of flint glass makers marking "a close mutual relationship with the employers". The events stand in sharp contrast to the social demonstrations held by the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers where, although 'outside' guests were invited, none appear to have been glass manufacturers. cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 374 - 376 for reprint of report of social gatherings at Thornhill Lees in Dewsbury Reporter, 3rd September 1870.
82. Matsumura T, op cit, pp 217 - 218.
83. Ibid, p 132.
84. Ibid, pp 131 - 132.
85. Equalisation of flint glass makers wages throughout the Yorkshire region occurred 10th September 1875, almost four years after the standardisation of the Glass Bottle Makers' rates which occurred 1st January 1872. The Yorkshire flint hands did not attain standardisation with the rest of the flint glass making districts until October 1895, cf Webb S & B "Industrial Democracy", pp 280 - 281.
86. Op cit, p 447. Brundage, op cit, p 45.
87. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 261 - 262.
88. Ibid, p 314.
89. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 320.

90. It was revealed that some glassmakers had "ribs off" i.e. were in receipt of payment in advance from their employers. Bottle-making chairs which contained such individuals were given the most favourable moulds to work in order to ensure that sufficient money was earned to repay the outstanding debt before the tantum was applied. Any money in excess of the tantum was by tradition paid into the funds of the Society, Ibid, p 321.
91. Ibid, p 438.
92. Ibid, p 386.
93. Ibid.
94. Ibid, p 382.
95. In his Address concerning the Lock-Out, Greenwood wrote "We do not mean to say the workmen are free from blame, and that they were locked out without any provocation. This is a plea we shall never attempt to set up because we know that more or less they have faults". Ibid, p 387.
96. Ibid, p 388.
97. Ibid, p 439.
98. Ibid.
99. Ibid, p 388.
100. Brundage, op cit.
101. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 389. For details of the Scotch Strike cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 352 - 368.
102. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 389 f/n 6. Greenwood computed that a 34 week strike would have cost the Yorkshire Society £66,638 and concluded that ".... if the workmen of Yorkshire had struck as resolutely as the men in Scotland did, there is little doubt that the Yorkshire trade would have been as seriously injured, and that both workmen and employers would have suffered great loss".

103. Ibid, p 389.

104. Ibid, p 441.

105. On 8th August 1876, Blunn Bros. had served a notice on each man at the Kilnhurst factory to the effect

"From this date we request all our bottle makers, blowers and gatherers, to work the metal melted for them each day, according to the general custom of the trade, as we cannot acknowledge what is called The Number to be a day's work, when so much surplus metal is left in the pots.

Messrs. Blunn Bros."

The ensuing County Court case at Rotherham, October 7th and 14th 1876, turned on whether the Number was the practical measure of the day's work or merely an arbitrary standard for wage regulation. Despite numerous examples showing that employers as well as artisans had applied the former definition, the case went to the manufacturers. For report on the Trial cf Rotherham & Masbro Advertiser, 7th and 14th October 1876. Also Editorial Leader on the Trial 14th October 1876.

106. No notice was posted by Messrs. Beatson & Co. Masbro, Shaw, Lowe & Co. Wombwell and Sutcliffe & Co. Barnsley. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 445.

107. Ibid, p 446.

108. Ibid, p 447.

109. Of 57 men working at Thornhill Lees in November 1876, 54 were imported from the North of England, one from Lancashire and another from York. Six of the men named had their fares paid by the Yorkshire Society to go back to the North, but returned to Yorkshire again. Many others were returned at Society expense with as many as 15 being returned at a single time. Several, however, were known to have been at Thornhill Lees and had their fare home paid by the Society not less than on three occasions. Ibid, p 451 for a report on the issue cf Dewsbury Reporter, 19th August 1876.

110. Beehive, 2nd September 1876. Copy of circular issued to the Glass Bottle Makers of Great Britain and Ireland by the E.C. of the G.B.M. Society.
111. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 443. At the joint meeting of the Workmen and Employers, held at the Station Hotel, Normanton, 4th October 1876, the Employers agreed to seek to persuade Kilners to agree to the settlement, but at a resumed meeting the following day it was stated by E. Breffit that "Mr. Kilner now says he is quite satisfied with the arrangements he has made, and he declines now to enter into any discussion of the case so far as he is concerned." Ibid, p 445. However, at a joint meeting at the North Eastern Hotel, Castleford, 11th October 1876, Kilners qualified offer was made, the contractual obligation being given as the reason for the firm's inability to re-engage Society men displaced at Thornhill Lees. The partial re-engagement was, however, unacceptable to the workmen, Ibid p 447.
112. Ibid p 548.
113. Ibid p 551.
114. Council Minute Book, entry 31st March 1877.
115. The vote of 108 for, and 289 against The Resolution represented 35.4% of the Society's membership, cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 201 for Branch voting figures. That the Branches supported the retention of the tantum to a greater extent than the voting figures suggest is shown by written evidence submitted by the Branches on two occasions in December 1876, cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, pp 257 - 258.
116. G.B.M Reports, Volume VI, p 210 and p 212.
117. Ibid, p 214.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid.

120. Ibid, pp 214 - 215.
121. Ibid, p 220.
122. Comment by J.Stafford, a workers' representative at the Joint Meeting of Masters and Workmen held in Breffits Institute, Castleford, 3rd December 1877. Ibid, p 227.
123. Ibid, p 222.
124. Matsumura op cit, p 142. The G.B.M. Society published a full account of events concerning the dispute with the F.G.M. Society in the Quarterly Report 12th November 1877. The dispute did not feature in the pages of the F.G.M. Magazine until some time later when, as a result of personal rivalry between the notorious John McHenry, Manager at Sykes MacVay & Co's Castleford Works and R Hargrave, Secretary of The Hunslet District of the F.G.M. Society, the dishonourable role of the flint hands was revealed to the wider membership. Ibid, p 140.
125. For details of the genesis of The London Bottle Makers' Society and its effect upon The Yorkshire Flint Glass Bottlemakers' trade, ibid, pp 135 - 137.
126. Ibid, p 131.
127. Ibid, pp 134 - 137. Although the Yorkshire District of the F.G.M. Society wished to amalgamate with the London Bottle Makers' Society, the C C of the F.G.M. Society refused to sanction such a course, fearing that a formalised agreement would "hang as a dead weight round the neck of our Society", F.G.M.M. Volume VIII, p 275. This view as well supported by the other districts of the F.G.M. Society, many of whom felt that the Yorkshire District was itself such a burden, ibid, p 733.
128. Matsumura, op cit, pp 131 - 132.
129. Ibid, p 139. For comparative membership statistics concerning Yorkshire flint and glass bottle hands cf chapter seven, Tables 7:6 and 7:7 infra.

130. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 51.
131. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 160.
132. For details concerning arrears at each Society Branch between mid 1874 - 78, ibid, pp 402 - 404.
133. For causes of arrears cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 265 and Volume XVII, p 11 and p 48.
134. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 52.
135. Matsumura, op cit, pp 225 - 227 for example of the courteous relationship between the two sides of the flint glass industry during the period of adverse trade, 1878 - 80, which necessitated wage reductions.
136. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 334 for examples of abuse of Union officials and resentment of Executive authority shown by members of the G.B.M. Society.
137. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 225 - 226.
138. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 479.

CHAPTER FIVE:

EMPLOYERS ASSOCIATIONS

Permanent associations of employers were commonly established, post 1850, in response to the growing power of organised labour. Evidence exists, however, of activity by groups of manufacturers to regulate supply and demand of goods by means of wage reduction and controlled selling prices, as early as the eighteenth century and quite separate from union pressure.¹ A meeting of flint glass manufacturers is known to have taken place at Ferrybridge in 1833² and by 1839 the Association had 45 members, including 9 from Stourbridge and 4 each from Scotland and Ireland.³ Meetings of the Association were convened irregularly and held at various locations. The agenda consisted of economic topics, particularly the restrictive effects of the Excise and the effect of underselling on wages and production costs.⁴ To obviate underselling by manufacturers whose employment of non-union labour enabled them to minimise wages and production costs, the Association seems to have pursued twin tactics of moral persuasion⁵ and, where necessary, the more expensive method of buying-out uncooperative rivals.⁶ Owing to wide differentials in wages and working conditions, and the conservative attitude of manufacturers jealous to safeguard trade secrets, associations of manufacturers were usually of limited geographical jurisdiction. Often their activity was confined to a particular town or district which therefore restricted membership and meetings were convened infrequently and in response to the exigencies of trade.⁷ Such an arrangement applied, on occasion, amongst the bottle manufacturers of Castleford after the industry had dispersed to other parts of Yorkshire⁸. Even when a trade dispute assumed a dimension necessitating combined action by the majority of County manufacturers, such as those of 1856 and 1868, there was always a degree of self-interest to prevent complete uniformity.⁹ The successful outcome of united action during the 1856 dispute did not further the establishment of a permanently organised association of manufacturers. The default facilitated the recovery and reorganisation of the stricken union and weakened the abortive attempt of the employers to present a united front in the 1868 dispute when each manufacturer gave differing emphasis to the aspects of trade at the centre of the dispute.¹⁰ In the aftermath of the dispute the Union was able to pursue a policy of 'divide and rule',

imposing conditions on all but confining action and negotiation in pursuance of trade objectives to individual employers.

The formation of the Midland Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers in November 1858, provides an example of the evolution of a temporary alliance of manufacturers into a permanently organised body. The Association arose as a result of conflict with the Flint Glass Makers of the Stourbridge district where union power was being invoked in an effort to impose a uniform system of trade observance within the district and ultimately, throughout the trade. A series of strikes involving wage levels and apprenticeship ratios resulted in one of the employers involved circularising all employers in the flint glass trade requesting their co-operation in denying employment to discharged hands

"The following men having formed a combination to stop our glass works, and dictate their own rules, they have been discharged by us; and we should be obliged by your not employing them, and we feel sure that it is in the interest of the trade to support us. Our glass cutters are all men unconnected with the Union, and we mean to adopt the same course with the glassmakers". (my italics)¹¹

The employers justified their action on grounds of self-defence but the circular indicates a conscious decision to launch an attack on the union in order to destroy it. The aim was shared by the employers of Stourbridge, Birmingham and Dudley, who responded by forming an association to support those in dispute by making up their orders and supplying the same at cost price.¹²

The attempt of the Midlands employers to widen the dispute by the despatch of delegations to Yorkshire, Northumberland and Scotland, in the hope of founding local associations of employers, represented an attempt to establish a national organisation corresponding in size and strength with that of the Flint Glass Makers Society.¹³ The purpose of the Association in widening the dispute was undoubtedly to ensure the lock-out of a maximum number of flint glass makers, and by making them dependent upon the limited financial resources of the Society, procure its financial collapse and destruction, leaving a demoralised and compliant workforce.¹⁴ The aim of the Association floundered as a result of the diversity of trade and differing business interest, which together with inadequate communication, failed to ensure

a sustained and concerted assault on the union.¹⁵ The failure to respond by some manufacturers undermined the Association further by allowing workmen in areas such as Yorkshire, where no general disruption of trade occurred, to provide financial assistance to those members directly involved in the dispute.¹⁶ Thus, the moral and financial support provided by the wider union movement sustained the Society throughout the period in which the Association had relied on the demoralising effect of winter weather and seasonal trade decline to assist fulfilment of its objectives.¹⁷ The Midlands Association was initially conceived as a temporary organisation but the protracted nature and the negotiated settlement of the dispute underlined the desirability of having a permanent formally constituted body to represent the manufacturers' interest and the Association continued to exist for the purpose of negotiation with the Flint Glass Makers Society after the end of the dispute.¹⁸ The value of the Association had been shown by the pressure which had induced the Society to modify its Rules in an effort to effect a settlement during the dispute.¹⁹ The terms of the Agreement concerning apprentice ratios negotiated at Dudley, April 1859, represented a gain to the employers which necessitated further revision of the Society's Rules and became the standard throughout the flint glass trade.²⁰ The growing influence of the Association during the following decades was clearly illustrated by the fact that in March 1878, in response to the adverse effect of deepening trade depression, a meeting was convened at Derby between the Association and the Glass Bottle Manufacturers of England and Scotland.²¹ The meeting resulted in the formation of a nationally-based committee to confer with the Flint Glass Makers' Society concerning

"the imperative necessity for a reduction
in the wages of Glass Makers....."

Copies of the business of the meeting were sent to

"all glass firms in the Kingdom, with
copies also being sent to the workmen
employed by such firms".²²

The resultant settlement was facilitated almost as much by the mutual respect and courtesy shown by both parties as by the acceptance of the economic reality of the situation backed by the industrial pacifism favoured by the Flint Glass Makers' Society.²³

The most significant development concerning a permanent trade organisation by the employers within Yorkshire was that arising from the

initiative of William Bagley to establish an Association of Glass Bottle Manufacturers in 1876. Bagley, with his previous experience as the principal officer of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society (1868 - 1869), was fully aware of the need for and power of united action. Prompted by falling prices and high wages, Bagley fought to establish an association of employers for the regulation of prices and

"to withstand the aggression of our men."²⁴

To this end in March 1876, Bagley addressed a circular to the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Manufacturers under the nom-de-plume 'Junius' inviting opinions on the subject to be forwarded post restant G.P.O. Leeds. Bagley's motive in addressing his fellow manufacturers arose from purely economic considerations.

"That the year 1875 has been the most unsatisfactory one we have passed through for years as regards profits".²⁵

Bagley contended that the gross profits of four firms whose combined resources represented 3/5ths of the trade were far below expectations and that some firms had made no profit at all despite competent costing and sales techniques. Bagley therefore concluded that labour costs were chiefly responsible for the plight of the manufacturers stating

"That although our manufactured goods have fallen in prices from 30 to 40, and even 50 per cent, labour has not reduced, but in some cases, risen".²⁶

Bagley's criteria was the cost of materials which had reduced to a minimum of 1872 levels compared to wages which had not only maintained their nominal value, but in the case of the flint bottle hands, had recently risen. But inability to reduce labour costs was not the only reason

"That our manufactured goods are now being sold at less than a remunerative profit"²⁷

for

"There is no understanding existing to regulate such prices and [that] we are working against each other as much as we possibly can".²⁸

Bagley quoted instances of bottles of various types being sent, carriage paid, into London at unprofitable prices and contended that had a common agreement been in existence to regulate uniform selling prices, the 'sad results of last year' might have been avoided.²⁹

Bagley discounted the signal failure to establish a Masters' Association in years gone by stating

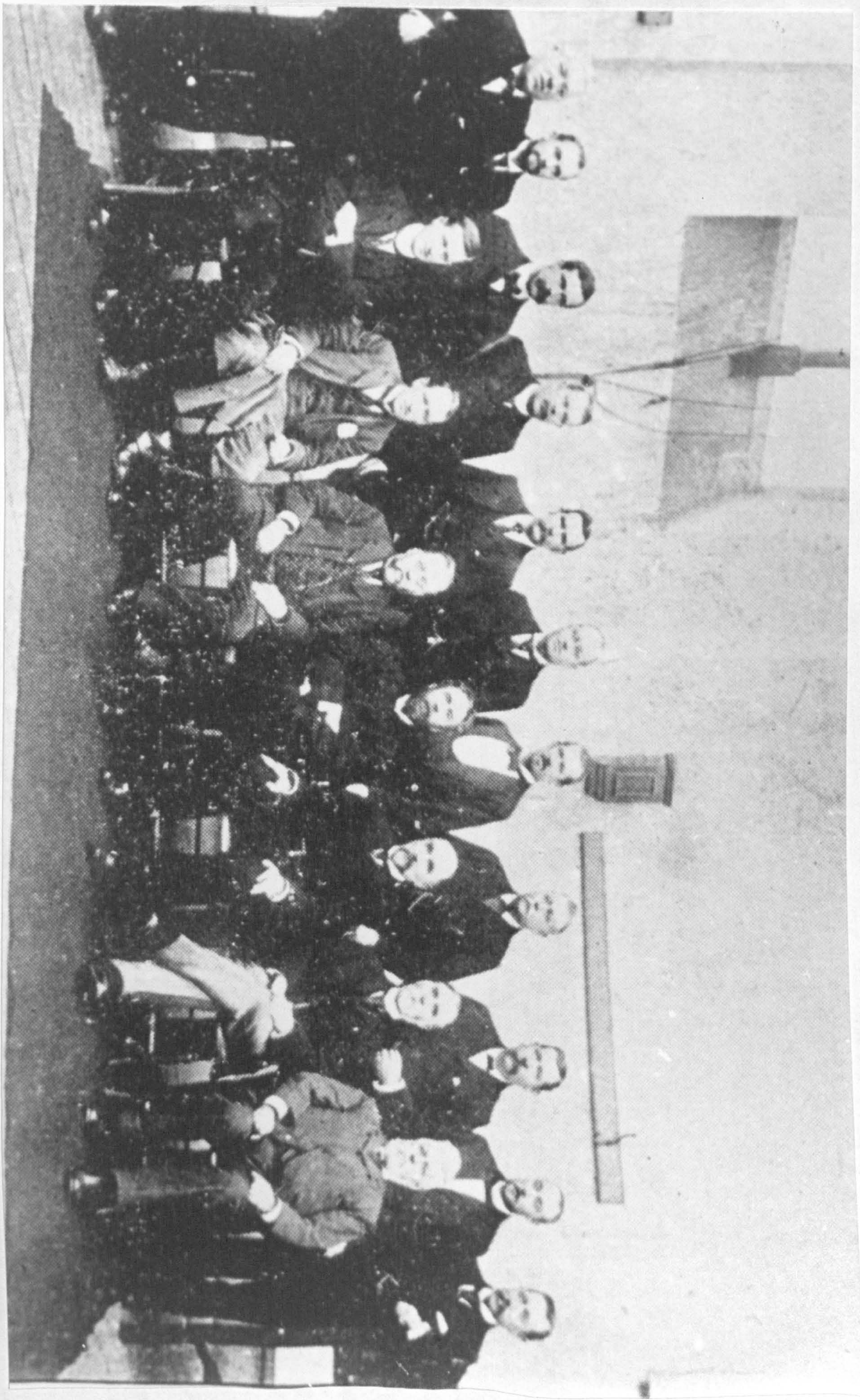
"..... we must be determined to put away crochets and go in for the broad principle of Union"

for

"..... if we were united, we could keep prices of goods at a legitimate level, and withstand the aggressions of our men, for they are of the opinion now that they need only ask for a concession and we dare not refuse it to them; and we all know that this is true, for where is there one amongst us who dare fight them single handed - nay, where are there four firms that dare withstand them?. The last report I heard was that they were worth £14,000 or sufficient funds for a six months' strike. As men this is very creditable to them, but it puts a weapon in their hands that they can use, whether justifiable or not; and we, as manufacturers, ought to devise some methods which would have a counter influence".³⁰

A favourable response resulted in a second circular the following month proposing a conference of interested parties and this being approved, a third circular was issued containing a proposed code of rules and the names of sixteen manufacturers who had signified their support for the venture.³¹ The subsequent meeting was held at Normanton, 24th April 1876 and the Glass Bottle Manufacturers of Yorkshire Trade Association was established with George Kilner as President and John Wild as Secretary. The Rules adopted by the Association were substantially those proposed by Bagley, with administration of the Association being undertaken by an annually elected eight man committee. Meetings were scheduled on a quarterly basis with subscriptions and voting rights based on the number of bottle holes in operation by each member company. The stated objectives of the Association were

"..... to unite ourselves together for our common good, and the benefit of the trade generally; to withstand the aggressions of our men, and to arrive at a proper understanding on all questions".³²



Provision for compensation to firms affected by strike action or the application of tantum restriction was an additional feature of the Rules of the Association, an allowance of 30/- per bottle hole being paid from the funds, supplemented, if necessary, by a levy based on the number of holes being worked by other member firms.³³ The financial structure of the Glass Bottle Manufacturers' Association conferred power in accordance with economic outlay and therefore favoured the larger firms within the Association. The situation contrasted with that concerning the Midland Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers where costs were uniform, each firm subscribing an initial sum of £100 with an additional annual subscription of £10.³⁴ The basic governmental structure of each Association was the same but a noticeable difference lay in the salary paid to each of the Secretaries, with the sum of £120 pa being paid by the Midlands manufacturers compared to only £5 pa paid by their Yorkshire counterparts.³⁵ The different financial structure reflects the situation in which each organisation was founded, the Midlands Association seeking initially to provide a financial basis for the ongoing dispute compared to the more permanent body envisaged by the Yorkshire manufacturers which would necessitate a continuous source of income. The attempt by the Midlands Association to widen out into a nationally based organisation would involve the Secretary in greater expenditure of time and money than the routine and geographically restricted sphere of activity anticipated by the Secretary of the G.B. Manufacturers' Association, and may explain the wide divergence in the salary of the two officials.

What factors promoted the successful establishment of the Yorkshire Manufacturers' Association compared to earlier failures? The severe consequences of the advent of economic depression of unprecedented scale is apparent from Bagley's analysis but other considerations were also applicable. Most significant was the financial investment made by the Association members. Such an arrangement as a common bond had been advocated in the reply by Blunn Bros. of Kilnhurst to Bagley's first circular.

"We shall be glad to attend any meeting of the trade you may call although past experience has not shown any good result from such meetings. Promises are worthless, and we should recommend, as we have often done previously to have a fund of our own, say each manufacturers deposit in cash according to the number of furnaces he is working".³⁶

The adoption of Blunn's suggestion gave each participant a vested interest in ensuring the success of the Association, an important but previously ignored factor. How important the financial considerations were as a unifying factor is evident from a comparison of the code of rules proposed by Bagley with those adopted by the Association. The initial subscription rate and the weekly contributions which formed the backbone of the Association were a considerable modification of the sums proposed by Bagley.³⁷ Another aspect of importance was the financial provision to compensate Association members whose works were affected by strike action or the imposition of the tantum.³⁸ Despite the limitation in profitability during the previous year the reduction in contributory rates must surely represent the unwillingness of naturally conservative individuals to invest in a venture of uncertain value rather than inability to pay the proposed sums. The compensatory provisions within the Rules provide a clear indication of the awe in which the power of the Union was held by the manufacturers, many requiring financial safeguard against such power before committing themselves to membership of the Association. The fact that such provision did not feature in Baley's proposed rules is an indication of the necessity of providing a financial inducement to membership at a later date, a fact which is also indicative of the initial precariousness of the Association.

A further indication of the difficulty in establishing the proposed Association is the fact that Bagley not only felt the necessity to adopt a nom de plume to launch his proposed scheme in order to ensure

"..... That the subject matter might be considered by the trade irrespective of any personality, well knowing..... that my previous employment and position might prejudice full consideration of the case",³⁹

but felt constrained to keep the identity of 'Junius' a secret for a further six years.⁴⁰ Here, however, a caveat may be entered, for despite the enhancement of personal status which disclosure of his identity as the begetter of the Manufacturers' Association would have conferred on Bagley, his recent entry as a small employer amongst the ranks of Yorkshire manufacturers would not have enabled him to command a central position in Association affairs which the prestige of senior employers, representing larger and longer established firms, assured them.⁴¹ Realisation of the fact lends particular significance

to the appointment of John Wild, Bagley's business partner and former union colleague, as Secretary of the Association, for Wild's position enabled Bagley to exercise a degree of indirect influence out of all proportion to his business standing. Previous experience had indicated the need for clear and decisive action as an adjunct to continued uniformity by the employers. Bagley was the mainspring of such action. To reveal himself as 'Junius' would have invoked the resentments and petty jealousies which had hitherto prevented permanent Association by the manufacturers. The invocation would have precipitated the removal of Wild from the office of Secretary, thus removing Bagley's necessary influence and ensuring the collapse of the Association. The establishment of the Manufacturers' Association was by no means a guarantee of its continuity which, to a significant degree, depended upon its acceptance by the Union.

The largely successful outcome of a series of challenges to Union power in the closing years of the 1870s, whilst important in themselves, were of less significance than the success of the Association in forcing its recognition by the recalcitrant Union as the organisation representing the collective interests of the entire body of manufacturers and therefore the only medium through which industrial negotiations could be conducted. The achievement of this recognition through the application of the lock-out of 1876 was the key to maintenance of the unity which ensured success in other spheres of industrial activity and which, in turn, consolidated the position of the Association. Despite the successes of the Association an underlying fragility was clearly evident in the early years. In 1877, Dan Reglands of Stairfoot, and the Barnsley firm of Sutcliffe, Wade and Dobson, withdrew from the Association.⁴² The continued success of the Association was further jeopardised when, as a result of a misjudgement by John Wild, the Association was defeated in a series of test cases brought by Union members in various courts throughout the County in 1878. As a result, Edgar Breffit withdrew from membership of the Association and refused to rejoin until it was agreed to appoint a professional lawyer as Secretary of the Association.⁴³ The divisions amongst the employers

"..... whose demands were almost as numerous as the points of a compass - some manufacturers in the Association, some out, and some neither in nor out, and yet all snatching for what they could get"⁴⁴

was obviously a weakening influence. Nevertheless, the establishment of the Association was a watershed in industrial relations providing the machinery for the joint negotiations which were undertaken on the basis of an annual trade agreement early in the decade following its creation. Paradoxically the centralistic tendency amongst the manufacturers strengthened centralisation within the union for in conferring recognition on the Central Secretary and the Council as the sole negotiators on behalf of the workmen, it ensured increased uniformity in trade conditions. As a result, the manifestation of direct power by the rank and file at individual workplaces was further eroded and the militancy which had been a cause of sporadic disputes in earlier years became subjected to tighter Executive control. In addition, the rise of the Association and the challenge to Union power posed by successful activities undertaken against a background of adverse trade conditions, allayed criticism of the central government of the Society by a militant rank and file element which had gained greater stridency during the 'plush' years of the early 1870s.

The success of the Association brought mutual gains to both sides of the industrial spectrum and ensured a rough equilibrium in the balance of industrial power during the 1880s compared to the dramatic oscillations of previous decades. Here, however, the less beneficial long-term effects of the creation of the manufacturers' organisation are evident for the activities undertaken by the Association in pursuance of its aims in the late 1870s, supplemented by trade developments in the 1880s, sowed seeds of bitterness within the industry. The resentments of labour were given greater emphasis by the partial recovery of trade from 1881 which favoured a revival of Union power without providing the means for its complete recovery. As a result, the concentrated representation of the two industrial powers, promoted a power struggle which was characterised by growing polarisation and entrenched attitudes, culminating in the industrial upheaval of 1893.

CHAPTER FIVE: Employers' Associations

1. Guttery, op cit, pp 52 - 53 has noted the existence of an agreement between Thomas Henley and associates of Stourbridge and the glass merchants and manufacturers of Bristol, concerning the manufacture and sale of glass, dated 1703. Court W.M.B. The Rise of the Midland Industries, 1600 - 1838 (Cambridge 1938) has suggested that this was far from being the earliest cartel within the English glass trade.
2. Green, op cit, p 15. Hodkin J.S.G.T. 1953, p 27N. Barker & Harris, St. Helens: a Merseyside Town in the Industrial Revolution 1750 - 1950 (Frank Cass & Co. 1959), pp 249 - 252.
3. Clegg A.H., Fox A., and Thompson A.F. A History of British Trade Unions since 1889, (OUP 1964), Volume I, p 14.
4. Clegg A.H. The System of Industrial Relations in Great Britain (Blackwell, Oxford, 1970), p 59. Barker & Harris op cit. In 1847, Ben Richardson, a Stourbridge manufacturer anonymously circularised the flint glass trade concerning the detrimental aspects of trade, of which underselling was diagnosed as the principal evil. Fellow manufacturers responding to Richardson's request for their opinions, fully endorsed his prognosis, cf Guttery, op cit, p 132
5. Guttery, op cit, pp 130 - 132 for reference to frequent but seemingly futile diplomatic representations.
6. As early as 1751, a Stourbridge firm had purchased the Prescott Bottle Works near St. Helens in order to close it down, Barker, Pilkingtons Bros..., p 302. cf Also Chapter one f/n 21, supra, re closure of Bower & Co., Hunslet by rival cartel.
7. Clegg A.H. op cit, p 119 makes the point that the employers were able to exercise a degree of secrecy concerning their affairs which was denied to the Unions with their mass membership and primitive democratic traditions.

8. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 114 - 115. Also, op cit, Volume VIII, p 303.
9. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 49 and pp 225 - 226. Also, op cit, Volume III, pp 303 - 314 for same situation in 1872.
10. The dispute of 1868 commenced with the manufacturers under the influence of Edgar Breffit, emphasising the necessity for wage reduction. At a subsequent meeting attended by representatives of firms which were unrepresented at the previous meeting of Employers, other issues were given prominence. As a result of diversified opinion the ability of the manufacturers to launch a concentrated attack on Union power was weakened.
11. Matsumura, op cit, pp 190 - 195 for details of origin and nature of dispute.
12. Ibid, pp 195 - 196.
13. Ibid, pp 213 - 214 and pp 197 - 199. Also, Howell, Labour Legislation.... pp 121 - 122.
14. "Frequent and free communication shall be encouraged between this and other Associations formed upon the same principles and having the same object so as to invite mutual co-operation" (my italics) Rules of the Midland Association of Flint Glass Manufacturers, Clause XI, Reprinted in G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 554.
15. Matsumura, op cit, pp 213 - 214.
16. Howell, Labour Legislation... F.G.M.M. Volume II (New Series), p 212. For statistical details of men locked out in various districts of the F.G.M. Society, September 1858 to May 1859, cf Matsumura, op cit, Table 4:6, p 201.
17. Ibid, pp 205 - 206 and p 212.
18. Ibid, p 196.

19. A Special Conference of the F.G.M. Society held 31st December 1858 and 1st January 1859, had resolved to modify the Rules as a concilliatory gesture, ibid, pp 199 - 200.
20. Apprentice Ratio and Rules 7 Regulations of the F.G.M. Friendly Society. Revised and Corrected, April 1859, Rule XXI, ibid, p 210.
21. F.G.M.M. Volume II, (New Series), pp 448 - 449.
22. Ibid, p 449.
23. Matsumura, op cit, pp 225 - 228.
24. Bagley S.B. Corporate Efforts in the Glass Industry, J.S.G.T. 1941, pp 107 - 108.
25. Ibid, p 105.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. "... pint bottles weighing 16oz are being sent into London, carriage paid, at 12s., reputed quarts (p.s.) at 21s., and 2.16 squares or rounds (p.s.) at 23s., less discount."
30. Ibid, p 106.
31. Ibid, pp 106 - 110.
32. Rule 2, ibid, p 111. It is interesting to compare the first stated aim with that contained in Rules of the G.B.Ms. Rules of 1862 and 1865 which sought "...to protect their masters property by every means in their power", G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 466 and p 469.
33. Bagley, loc cit, p 112.

34. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 554. By contrast, the funds of the Association of Yorkshire Glass Bottle Manufacturers were established on the basis of an initial deposit of 10 shillings per bottle hole, per company and one shilling per hole, per week thereafter, payable monthly cf Rules 10 and 11 in Bagley, loc cit, p 111.
35. Ibid, p 112. Rule 17. The 'Sub Treasurer' of the Yorkshire Association also received the nominal sum of £3 p.a. as salary. For details of the salary of the Secretary of the Midlands Association, cf Matsumura, op cit, p 195. The actual Rules of the Midlands Association merely stipulate provision for a "paid secretary".
36. Bagley, op cit, p 106.
37. Bagley originally proposed a subscription of £2 per bottle hole. Ibid, p 109, Rule 10, but in the event the sum of 10 shillings per bottle hole was agreed upon, Ibid, p 111. Bagley had proposed a weekly contribution of 3 shillings per hole which was reduced to 1/-.
38. Ibid, p 112. Rule 14 of the Association made an allowance of 30/- per hole in the event of a strike at any manufactory, while Rule 15 stipulated that the same sum be granted in the event of restricted production.
39. Ibid, p 113.
40. Ibid, Bagley stated that he kept his identity as 'Junius' a secret from his business partners until five years after the successful founding of the Manufacturers Association (i.e. 1881).
41. The executive members of the Association upon its establishment comprised George Kilner - President; John Wild - Secretary; William Blunn - Sub Treasurer; Thomas Barron, Richard Sykes, John Kilner, Caleb Kilner and William Brook Junior. The Trustees were Edgar Breffit, Alfred Alexander, George Kilner, and William Macvay. Ibid, p 111.

42. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, pp 206 - 208.

43. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 51. Harold Kaberry, a Pontefract Solicitor, was appointed Association Secretary in 1878.

44. Ibid.

CHAPTER SIX:

LEVEL AND REGULARITY OF EARNINGS

The struggle for control of the productive processes between the artisan workers and their employers during the period 1840 - 1880, provides a contextual setting for an examination of the socio-economic determinants governing the life-style of the artisans during the period which has been termed as the classic age of labour aristocracy.¹ Lack of data concerning wages obtained by individual chairs of glassmakers at particular factories confines examination to generalities. Nevertheless, the extant data is useful despite its generalised nature in revealing the overall pattern of wage fluctuation and allows some comparison of wage levels within the principal areas of container manufacture as well as facilitating a degree of comparison of the earnings of bottle hands and flint hands.

(a) Wage Trends.

In 1847, the basic rate of wages paid to a chair of bottle hands by the Castleford manufacturer, Edgar Breffit & Co., for the production of 332½ dozens of bottles during the course of a five journey week was

Bottlemaker	1 - 4 - 0
Blower	1 - 1 - 0
Gatherer	16 - 0
Wetter Off	5 - 6
Taker In	4 - 6

making the average earnings of the chair £3-11-0 per week.² There is some evidence of slight local variation at that time,³ but the bottle makers' rate of £1-4-0 appears to have been standard throughout Yorkshire and to have been so since the establishment of the trade at Castleford in 1829, and perhaps even longer.⁴ Thus, throughout the 'Hungry Forties' at a time when prices were high and there was constant reduction in wages of unskilled labour, the earning power of the Yorkshire Bottle hands was unimpaired, retaining an average 62% differential with earnings of unskilled workers.⁵

The same stability is noticable in the wage levels of neighbouring bottle making regions during the 1840s. In Lancashire, until mid

1845, the rates were

Bottlemaker	1 - 1 - 0
Blower	18 - 0
Gatherer	15 - 0

while in the North of England the basic rates paid for the production of 315 dozens of bottles per week were

Bottlemaker	1 - 0 - 0
Blower	16 - 0
Gatherer	13 - 0

although these rates were supplemented by an average of 2/- per week in lieu of house rent, together with the provision of free coals.⁷

An upward progression of wages within each of the above districts commenced with the abandonment of the Excise duties. The mutual impulse took place in the Lancashire region where by May 1845, journeyman rates had increased by 3/- per week. Within the North of England the same rate of increase applied by 1847, together with the retention of the rent and fuel subsidies. It is noticable, however, that the manufacturers within the North of England districts adopted the strategy of offering financial inducement as a means of increasing production levels. Thus, at some North of England works 1/- per week above basic rates was paid for production in excess of 66 dozens, and general overwork rates of 1d per dozen to blowers and gatherers, and 1½d per dozen to bottle blowers, were enhanced, while the introduction of a sixth journey was made more acceptable by the payment of overwork rates all day. In at least one factory a gratuity of 15/- per chair was paid upon the attainment of 300 dozens.⁸

Table 6:1 reveals a considerable variation in numbers and wages throughout the bottle making regions in early 1847 as a result of local market forces. Such variation, however, was not confined to the different regions but was also applicable to the districts constituting a particular region. Thus, the sum of £1-2-0 quoted as the basic wage rate of Lancashire bottlemakers in January 1847, is at variance with the basic rate of £1-4-0 paid to Lancashire bottlemakers at some factories from May 1845.⁹ Between 1847 and 1854 the Lancashire region appears to have been the arbiter for wage levels paid within other bottle making regions (cf Table 6:2 supra) for the influence of the railways which came earlier to that County resulted in the earlier development of the bottle trade. The fact that the

TABLE 6:1 COMPARISON OF NUMBER OF JOURNEYS PER WEEK; NUMBER CONSTITUTING A MOVE, AND
BASIC WEEKLY CHAIR EARNINGS IN VARIOUS BOTTLEMAKING DISTRICTS 1847 AND 1872

	1 8 4 7			1 8 7 2		
	No. OF J'NS	DOZENS PER MOVE	CHAIR WAGES	No. OF J'NS	DOZENS PER MOVE	CHAIR WAGES
CASTLEFORD	5	66½	3-11-0	5	63	6-14-2½
BRISTOL	6	67½	4-6-6	6	65	5-9-8
BRIERLEY HILL	5	68¾	3-15-8	5	64	5-14-8½
LANCASHIRE	5	62½	3-5-0	5	62½	6-0-3
GLASGOW	5	62½	3-15-0	5	62½	6-3-3
STOURBRIDGE	5	68¾	2-18-6	5	-	-
NORTH OF ENGLAND	5	67½	3-4-6	5	63	5-18-0

Sources: G.B.M. Reports, Volume pp 460 - 467 and Volume IV Table II p 408.

(a) Brierley Hill & Stourbridge Districts worked the four man flint chair system.

TABLE 6:2 COMPARISON OF JOURNEYMAN WAGE RATES IN YORKSHIRE, LANCASHIRE AND THE NORTH OF ENGLAND BOTTLEMAKING DISTRICTS
BETWEEN 1845 - 1872

DISTRICT	STATUS OF JOURNEYMAN	1845		1847		1849		1853		1854		1857		1860		1866		1872	
		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d		£ s d	
		£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s	£	s
YORKS	BOTTLERMAKER	-		1-4-0		-		1-6-0		1-10-0		1-4-0		1-7-0		1-10-0		1-13-0	
	BLOWER	-		1-2-0		-		1-4-0		1-8-0		1-2-0		1-5-0		1-8-0		1-11-0	
	GATHERER	-		18-0		-		1-0-0		1-4-0		18-0		1-0-0		1-3-0		1-6-0	
LANCS	BOTTLERMAKER	1-1-0(a) 1-4-0(b)		-		1-6-0		-		1-10-0		-		-		-		1-10-0	
	BLOWER	18-0 1-1-0		-		1-4-0		-		1-6-0		-		-		-		1-6-0	
	GATHERER	15-0 18-0		-		1-0-0		-		1-2-0		-		-		-		1-2-0	
NORTH OF ENGLAND	BOTTLERMAKER	1-0-0		1-3-0		1-0-0		1-4-0(c) 1-8-0(d)		-		-		-		-		1-10-6	
	BLOWER	16-0		19-0		16-0		1-0-0		-		-		-		-		1-6-6	
	GATHERER	13-0		16-0		13-0		16-0 1-0-0		-		-		-		-		1-3-6	

Sources: (i) G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, Table IV, p 408 (ii) Volume XXII, 1910, p 505
(a) January 1845 (c) Two increases within single year, dates unknown
(b) May 1845 (d)

* North of England rates have additional payment of 2/- per week in lieu of rent and £2.00 p.a. binding money.
Also, free coals.

longer established industry of the North of England was less influential in dictating wage levels and allied working conditions may be attributed to several factors. The greater availability of skilled labour and the widespread application of contract labour, debased basic wage levels whilst ensuring the possibility of maximum production and high earnings through the financial incentives which bolstered the exploitive system of pace-making. The co-existence of a considerable element of flint glass workers within the North of England region may also have been an inhibiting factor when considered in the context of the manufacture of wares which were becoming increasingly common to both systems of working and for which the flint hands were paid at lower basic rates.

The Yorkshire glass industry was sufficiently well established by 1854 to bear two increases in basic wages, a rise of 5.6% in journeyman rates in April being followed by a further 5.3% increase in August, thus setting the standard for the other bottle making regions and wresting the economic leadership of the industry from Lancashire. It was at that time that the Yorkshire artisans, doubtless recognising the pernicious influence of 'binding' within the North of England and some Lancashire districts, abolished contract labour and thereby set the general trend in craft emancipation by the application of free market forces to wage bargaining. Unfortunately, the subsequent deterioration in trade after 1855, prevented the successful overthrow of contract labour within the national districts for a further decade, during which the interplay of market forces caused substantial diminishment of basic wage rates within the Yorkshire area.

The period 1845-76 is one of overall increase in earnings of artisan glass makers throughout the bottle making regions with Yorkshire being a high wage area throughout. Fluctuation in basic rates did occur, however, as a result of cyclical trade conditions. The impetus given by removal of the duties on glassware and subsequent developments occurred at a time when the industry was, so to speak, in its infancy. The principal wage determinant was, therefore, the shortage of skilled labour. The rising wage trend was arrested as a result of the downturn of trade in 1856, culminating in a reduction of journeyman wages of 15.1% the following year, which in the opinion of the leading Castleford manufacturer, restored wages to their proper level.¹⁰ The uneven prosperity of the 1860s is reflected in the

wages paid to bottle hands throughout the national regions. Yorkshire artisans obtained a 7.9% increase in September 1860, a 3/- per week increase which in effect produced basic wages only slightly in advance of those paid in 1853. It is some indication of the diminution of Yorkshire rates that journeymen in the County were, prior to the increase, averaging 4/- per week less than those in the North of England, whose wage rates were at that time superior to all other regions.¹¹ Indeed, when a Yorkshire manufacturer proposed to build a new works at Middlesbrough and work the same with Yorkshire hands at Yorkshire rates, it was claimed by the North of England and supported by the other union districts, that despite its geographical location, the factory should be worked in accordance with North of England rates and conditions.¹² Conversely, the wage status of the Yorkshire artisans was considerably better than those of the journeymen of Bristol who because of the prevalence of contract labour were suffering the worst pay and highest numbers in the land,¹³ and who suffered great hardship by their unsuccessful attempt to abolish the system which the Yorkshire men had overthrown six years earlier.¹⁴ It was not until February 1856 that Yorkshire rates were restored to the level appertaining a dozen years earlier, and strenuous efforts by the manufacturers to enforce a reduction of 3/- per week in 1868 was only resisted successfully as a result of a legal technicality which undermined the position of the manufacturers.¹⁵

Between the years 1871-76, the second period of trade boom occurred. In addition to the orthodox nature of revived trade, the Continental disruption occurring as a result of the Franco-Prussian War presented extra business opportunities for English container wares which sold at inflationary prices. Agitation by the flint hands for a 4/- per week increase was commenced late 1871 and in early 1872, the employers reluctantly granted half the sum desired.¹⁶ The Yorkshire bottle hands, mindful of the tendency towards concessions in wages and hours operating throughout British industry in general, were greatly influenced at grass roots level by the award to the flint hands.¹⁷ The Union Executive had for some time considered the desirability of wage equalisation as the basis for obtaining a minimum weekly wage throughout the Yorkshire branches.¹⁸ Torn between an advance in wages or the establishment of a uniform list of numbers and overwork rates, the Delegate Meeting decided upon the latter when it was realised that the late advance obtained by the flint hands, although general was by no means equal.¹⁹

The proposed List submitted to the Yorkshire manufacturers was a masterpiece of tactful diplomacy, presentation of which belied the underlying strength of the united bottle hands, which was only evident in the confidence with which the claim was made. The establishment of the List was not merely justified on grounds of recently granted concessions to the labouring classes in general or to the flint hands in particular, but as the fulfilment of the manufacturers long expressed desire. Acceptance of the List, it was stated, would equalise the market potential of every firm presumably by restricting the opportunity for underselling and also prevent future disputes within the trade amongst manufacturers as well as between masters and men, regarding rates of payment for particular wares. The union concluded by astutely pointing out that the proposed rates were already observed in at least one Yorkshire glass works.²⁰ The Union's restraint is emphasised by the directive issued as a result of the manufacturers' rejection of the List

"That on or after the 1st April next, the employers must pay according to the List".²¹

To enforce their claim the men proposed to leave off work upon obtaining the number and the manufacturers, fearful of the effect of the imposition of the tantum at a time of profitable trade,²² belatedly suggested a series of modifications to the proposed List.²³ Although the employers amendments were shortly submitted and welcomed by the Union Executive as the basis for negotiation to ensure full understanding, by removal of any imperfections, the men were disinclined to consider them and pressed acceptance of the List as it stood, overriding manufacturers and Executive alike.²⁴ Within a week, Edgar Breffit conceded the original List and was followed by the other manufacturers and the List came into full operation 8th April 1872.²⁵ In addition to equalising numbers and rates of overwork, the list also reduced the one whilst increasing the other. Within the following fifteen months two further advances were obtained and journeyman rates were £1-16-0; £1-14-0 and £1-9-0. The figures represent the zenith of artisan wage power and were paid until the autumn of 1876, when as a result of the decline of trade, changes occurred, which adversely affected the status of the Yorkshire bottle hands.

Between October 1876 and November 1879, a three-staged reduction in basic wages occurred as a result of the onset and intensification of the 'Great Depression'. By the latter date the basic wages of the Yorkshire journeymen had reverted to the rates which were applicable

almost twenty years earlier. The years 1876-80 witnessed a more significant erosion of the earning capacity and working conditions of the Yorkshire men, however, which reflected on the status of both Union and individual, as the manufacturers applying the collective strategy of their newly established Association (cf Chapter 5 supra) took advantage of high unemployment levels to eliminate the collective power of their workers.

In addition to the reduction of basic wages, the employers were able to enforce a revision of the 1872 List, and in late March 1879, a second List (known as the list of 23rd December 1878) became effective.²⁶ The revised List resulted in a reduction in earning power equivalent to 6/- per week. In addition the masters also introduced revised rates for Codd's and other patent bottles to the disadvantage of the workmen.²⁷ Abolition of the half-wage payment and unrestricted apprenticeship were other features of the tilt in the balance of power which favoured the manufacturers. The majority of the adverse elements occurred as a result of the grass roots repudiation of a Union Agreement of March 1879,²⁸ (cf Supra) and this defiance of the Executive emboldened the employers to use their victorious lock-out later that year to break the Union by detachment of the rank and file from its officers. Upon re-engagement, the workers were required to sign a document accepting the 1878 List for a further twelve months and making any subsequent alteration the subject of three months notice by either party. By such means the employers stressed the individual rather than collective responsibility for observation of the terms of engagement.

The effect was twofold; reintroducing contract labour as a mechanism for holding down wages and improvement in allied working conditions throughout the County,²⁹ and by-passing the system of collective negotiations, thereby nullifying Union power.

(b) Inter-chair wage structure.

The economic status of journeyman as revealed in the structural dimension of chair earnings probably reflects a traditional trade differential although a degree of fluctuation occurring about the middle of the nineteenth century may well have been defined by current market value.

Table 6:3 reveals that within the Yorkshire industry a basic differential of 3/- per week separated bottle makers and blowers during the

TABLE 6:3 SHOWING BASIC WAGES RATES OF JOURNEYMAN MEMBERS OF THE GLASS BOTTLEMAKERS SOCIETY 1847 - 1879

DATE	BOTTLEMAKER			BLOWER			GATHERER		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
26th January	1847	1	4	0	1	2	0	18	0
6th August	1853	1	6	0	1	4	0	1	0
1st April	1854	1	8	0	1	6	0	1	2
- August	1854	1	10	0	1	8	0	1	3
- January	1857	1	4	0	1	2	0	18	0
29th September	1860	1	7	0	1	5	0	1	0
17th February	1866	1	10	0	1	8	0	1	4
8th April	1872	First List of Numbers and Overwork which equalised Numbers and advanced Overwork rates							
24th August	1872	1	13	0	1	11	0	1	6
18th July	1873	1	16	0	1	14	0	1	9
13th October	1876	1	13	0	1	11	0	1	6
12th January	1878	1	10	0	1	8	0	1	4
23rd December	1878	Second List of Numbers and Overwork							
12th November	1879	1	7	0	1	5	0	1	0

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 46

early decades of the century. By 1847, the gap had reduced to 2/- and was maintained at that level thereafter. Similarly, a 5/- differential between blowers and gatherers had narrowed by the margin of 1/- by 1847 but widened to its original dimension from 1866. The absence of data concerning the ratio of apprentice entry or journeyman promotion renders impossible any detailed analysis and therefore limits any conclusions to the realm of speculation. It would seem reasonable to suggest, however, that the fluctuations noted occurred in response to market forces in the period between 1845-57. This was a time when scarcity of skilled labour and the incomplete nature of Union organisation resulted in unregulated entry and progression through the stages of the trade. By the mid 1860s, however, the combined effect of enforcement of wage rates and controlled craft progression, occurring as a result of militant unionism, was influential in setting the parameters of journeyman remuneration.

The inter-chair wage structure within the Yorkshire region paralleled that of the Lancashire districts from 1849 until 1872 at which time the second major trade boom occurred.³⁰ As a result of area specialisation the Yorkshire trade was able to fully exploit the economic benefits of cheaper coal and transport to supply the rising demand consequent upon growing urbanisation. The pale metal which was the hallmark of the Yorkshire area was essentially geared to the domestic market, whereas the remaining bottle making regions, particularly the North of England and Lancashire, were principally engaged in the manufacture of black bottles. The biggest outlets for black bottles were the overseas markets, which by the mid-1870s were beginning to suffer from the effect of foreign competition. The competitive element had resulted in the wider adoption of the regenerative gas-fired furnace within the Lancashire region, a process which commenced within the Yorkshire region during the following decade but did not gain wide application until the 1880s. The widening differentials between the wages of Yorkshire artisans and those in other districts indicates the effect of the above developments which together with the structure of inter-chair rates, reflects the economic status of the Yorkshire men arising from the power of the Union and its control of the process of production. In 1872 the average basic wage of Yorkshire bottle makers was 9.0% in advance of their Lancashire counterparts and in excess of 7.5% that of bottle makers of the North of England. Yorkshire blowers were 16.1% better off than those in Lancashire, and 14.5% in advance of the basic wage paid to North of

England blowers. The average basic wage of Yorkshire gatherers was nearly 15.3% greater than that paid in Lancashire and more than 7.6% that appertaining in the North of England.³¹

(c) Comparison of Bottle Hands and Flint Hands.

From the 1860s a significant shift occurred within the Yorkshire glass industry as traditional flint glass manufacturers increasingly geared their factories to the production of containers. Prompted by the intensification of domestic and foreign competition, the flint glass manufacturers saw the advantages of a widening market for containers arising from rapid urbanisation and the establishment of goods and services to meet market demand. Most importantly, the natural economies afforded to container specialisation by the socio-geographical factors applicable within the County, influenced the attitude and conduct of the manufacturers.

As in the case of the bottle makers, considerable regional wage differentials were in existence during the 1860s but evidence exists to suggest that the average basic wage rates of a chair of flint glass-makers was 18/- to 20/- per week.³⁰ In 1863, Ben Smart, CS of the FGM Society, stated that the rate of 24/- per week paid to men with 'status' (i.e. first class journeymen) did not compare well with wages paid to leading men in other trades;³³ while boys within the trade were paid much less than those of other occupations, including agriculture. Low wages and unsocial working hours, Smart asserted, were deterring trade entry.³⁴ Boys usually entered the trade at about 10 years of age, receiving a weekly wage of 3/- until 14 years of age, when the wage was advanced by 2/- per week. Formally bound apprentices were paid 10/6 per week and 14/- per week upon graduation to the lowest journeyman grade of footmaker, at which level the majority of flint hands were employed. A further, less numerous, element within the trade who had progressed to the servitor grade (i.e. gatherers) was paid between 16/- and 20/- per week.³⁵ By the middle of the decade the national average wage paid to flint glass finishers was £1-10-0, although workmen producing highly specialised wares earned considerably more.³⁶ Contemporary statistics quote general rates of

Finisher	£1-10-0		
Blowers	£1-4-0	per 62½	dozens of
Gatherers	£1-0-0	bottles per week of	
Putters Up	6-0	merchantable quality	
Takers In	5-0		

with overwork of 4½d per dozen.³⁷ The rates above are slightly in advance of Levi's estimate of the average weekly earnings in Britain in 1866, but when considered in conjunction with overwork payments obtained by journeymen glass makers, are considerably in advance³⁸ and substantiate Hobsbawm's inclusion of artisan glass makers within the ranks of the 'super aristocracy' of labour.³⁹ Nevertheless, differentials in the basic rates paid to flint hands varied by as much as 20% within the districts of the trade,⁴⁰ with the result that the Union was blamed for declining trade in high wage areas while being unable to fill vacancies occurring in low wage ones.⁴¹

Within the Yorkshire area flint hands were at a disadvantage compared with the County bottle hands. The predominance^a of bottle making within the County had resulted in some diminution of status arising from the direct application of craft skills to the process of production, which in the case of the bottle hands, had been compensated for by economic status as reflected in earning power. The flint hands belated and gradual conversion to container manufacture assured them of no comparable economic compensations for not only was their work geared to the production of smaller, lighter, ware but their chair composition resulted in a slower workpace and therefore more restricted output.⁴² Also, the status consciousness of the remaining districts was based on craftsmanship ideals, the residual element of which was retained by the Yorkshire flint hands and acted, initially, as a non-substitutive factor. Further, the different nature of work undertaken in the Yorkshire district and the conditions in which such work was produced was not fully appreciated by the executive members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, much less the rank and file, and therefore the lack of a uniform wage structure and its retarding influence in the attainment of wage parity with the bottle hands was not generally recognised throughout the trade. For the latter reason an attempt by the Yorkshire flint hands to force acceptance of a uniform catalogue in the spring of 1864, was undertaken without the prior sanction of the Society's Executive.⁴³ The move was a culmination of an attempt by the Yorkshire flint hands to assert themselves in the face of the same type of abuse being experience by the bottle hands at that time. In 1862, for instance, the flint hands emulated the earlier action of the bottle hands by abolishing binding money⁴⁴ but it was not until the boom of the 1870s that any significant improvement in wages and conditions occurred.⁴⁵ Even with the increase of 2/- per week and 3d per move in overwork obtained in 1872 the

Yorkshire flint hands basic wage lagged behind the average for the national districts and also of the Yorkshire bottle hands and it was not until June 1875 that the basic rate paid to the senior flint glass workman attained £1-0-0d per week.⁴⁶ A level obtained by bottle makers in 1866 and subsequently improved by two further increases of 3/-, making a basic differential between the two groups of 6/- per week. The basic wage of the flint glass blowers at £1-7-9d per week was 1/- less than that paid to bottle hands in 1866 and 7/- per week below the rate applicable to blowers of the Yorkshire Society by 1875 (cf Table 6:3 Supra). Furthermore, the establishment of the List of Numbers and Overwork Rates by the bottle hands, in 1872, represented an equivalent weekly increase in advance of 12/- in chair earnings on some classes of work.⁴⁷

In respect of basic wages the bottle hands were in actual terms, better paid than the flint hands, but the overall situation was disadvantageous to the former as shown by Table 6:4.

The Table shows the numbers constituting the basic move of the G.B.M. was vastly in excess of those applicable to the flint hands producing the same type of ware. Thus, a chair of bottle hands making 10 oz Winchesters would produce 840 bottles per day (or 4,200 per week) compared to 484 (or 2,420 per week) by the flint hands. A manufacturer would therefore obtain 1,780^{more} bottles per week from the bottle hands five member chair than from a four man flint bottle chair, for a mere 10 shillings extra in basic wages, as shown by the comparative wage levels in Table 6:5.

Table 6:6 shows the comparative position with regard to overwork payments for the same amount of production. The Table is significant in that the increase of 3d per move overwork granted to the flint hands early in 1872 raised the chair earnings of flint hands considerably above those of the bottle hands, although it is interesting to note that only in the case of the bottle maker are the individual earnings of the flint glass bottle chair in advance of those of the glass bottle hands.

Translated in terms of the specific types of container listed in Table 6:4 (*infra*) the economic advantage accruing to the flint glass chair in respect of overwork payments is clearly shown. Table 6:7 reveals a differential of 7.3 $\frac{3}{4}$ d in toto, with only one category of

TABLE 6:4

TABLE 6:4 COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF NUMBERS FORMING THE WEEKLY
BASIC OUTPUT OF THE BOTTLEHANDS AND FLINTHANDS OF
YORKSHIRE, MARCH 1872

DESCRIPTION OF WARES	PER WEEK'S WORK		DIFFERENCE
	BOTTLE HANDS	FLINT HANDS	
	DOZENS	DOZENS	DOZENS
4 oz Capers			
10 oz Flats	350	$238\frac{1}{3}$	$111\frac{2}{3}$
10 oz Ovals			
10 oz Octagons			
6oz Capers			
8 oz Capers			
8 oz Castor Oils	350	$201\frac{2}{3}$	$148\frac{1}{3}$
10 oz Narrow Corbyns			
8 oz Winchesters			
10 oz Winchesters			
12 oz Winchesters			
Ginger Beers	315	$201\frac{2}{3}$	$113\frac{1}{3}$
Sodas			
Ciders			
16 oz Ovals	315	$183\frac{1}{3}$	$131\frac{1}{3}$
12 oz Flats	350	200	150
15 oz Corbyns	315	165	150
20 oz Winchesters			
Wine Quarts	315	$137\frac{1}{2}$	$177\frac{1}{2}$
Oval Quarts	315	110	205

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 310

TABLE 6:5 COMPARISON OF BASIC WAGES OF THE YORKSHIRE BOTTLEHANDS
AND FLINTHANDS, MARCH 1872

BOTTLEHANDS	WAGES			FLINTHANDS	WAGES (a)		
	£	s	d		£	s	d
Bottle Maker	1	10	0	Bottle Maker	1	9	0
Blower	1	8	0	Blower	1	6	0
Gatherer	1	3	0	Blower	1	3	0
Wetter-Off		7	6	Taker-In		4	0
Taker-In		6	6				
TOTAL	4	15	0	TOTAL	4	5	0

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 310

(a) including the recently obtained increase of 2 shillings per week in basic wage levels.

TABLE 6:6

TABLE 6:6 COMPARISON OF DISTRIBUTION OF OVERWORK PER SEVEN MOVES (i.e. 112½ DOZENS) YORKSHIRE BOTTLEHANDS AND FLINTHANDS

BOTTLEHANDS				FLINTHANDS			
	£	s	d		£	s	d
Bottle Maker	14	1½		Bottle Maker	15	9	
Blower	14	1½		Blower	13	5	
Gatherer	6	3		Blower	13	5	
Wetter-Off	1	6¾		Taker-In	2	4	
Taker-In	1	6¾					
TOTAL	1	17	7½	TOTAL	2	4	11

Source: op cit, p 311

TABLE 6:7

TABLE 6:7 COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF OVERWORK NUMBERS AND RATES OF
THE BOTTLEHANDS AND FLINTHANDS OF YORKSHIRE, MARCH 1872

DESCRIPTION OF - WARES	QUANTITY		AMOUNT PAID TO BOTTLE HANDS			AMOUNT PAID TO FLINT HANDS		
	No. OF BOTTLES PER MOVE	No. OF DOZENS	£	s	d	£	s	d
4 oz Capers								
8 oz Caster Oils								
10 oz Flats	260	$21\frac{2}{3}$	5	5		6	5	
10 oz Octagons								
10 oz Ovals								
20 oz Ovals	180	15	5	$7\frac{1}{2}$		6	5	
20 oz Winchesters								
15 oz Corbyns	200	$16\frac{2}{3}$	6	3		6	5	
16 oz Ovals								
10 oz Winchesters	220	$18\frac{1}{3}$	4	7		6	5	
12 oz Winchesters								
Ginger Beers	220	$18\frac{1}{3}$	6	$10\frac{1}{2}$		6	5	
Sodas								
Ciders								
Wine Quarts	150	$12\frac{1}{2}$	4	$8\frac{1}{2}$		6	5	
Oval Quarts	120	10	4	2		6	5	
TOTALS	1350	$112\frac{1}{2}$	1	17	$7\frac{1}{4}$	2	4	11
Difference of Overwork payment per seven moves							7	$3\frac{3}{4}$

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 311

were which favoured the G.B.M. economically whilst wide differentials are generally revealed between the rates paid to each artisan group for the same class of work. The situation conferred further economic advantage on the flint hands in that the lower numbers constituting the move provided greater opportunity for overwork earnings at rates considerably in advance of those of the bottle hands. Ironically, the comparative inferiority of the bottle hands vis-a-vis wage and production levels conferred advantages upon the manufacturers which ensured their economic preference of the five man system of production. Thus, the predominant position of the G.B.M. Society within the County was safeguarded by the depreciation of the bottle hands' position compared to that of the flint hands. With the attainment of the Uniform List and the increases in wage levels obtained in 1872-73 as a result of the trade boom, flint bottle production was rendered economically competitive, particularly before late 1875, when the Yorkshire flint hands succeeded in equalising wages and numbers throughout the County.⁴⁸ Even then, the competitive effect of the London bottle trade assisted by the exploitative managerial system within the Yorkshire flint glass trade, inhibited wages and working conditions by promoting non-union labour. The failure of the Flint Glass Makers Executive to fully appreciate the conditions applicable to the bottle branch of the trade was also a restraint in the improvement of wages and conditions within the Yorkshire districts.⁴⁹ Thus, in 1876, when following protracted agitation, the districts comprising the flint glass trade had with the exception of Yorkshire, achieved uniform payment for pot setting, the C.S. of the Flint Glass Makers' Society stated

"We have no sympathy with men who are continually crying for the highest pay for everything, and that wages can be brought up to any point we may think fit, simply by agitating for it. We maintain that agitation cannot do it, and if it does for a time, it is achieved upon false principles."⁵⁰

As a result of the above considerations the status of the flint hands within the Yorkshire bottle trade lagged behind that of the bottle hands in both its economic and craft dimensions during the 1870s. In consequence, the trend developed among the Yorkshire manufacturers of closing down bottle houses and replacing them by flint houses in which

the hands were engaged in the production of wares previously regarded as the preserve of the bottle hands.

CHAPTER SIX: Level and Regularity of Earnings

1. Hobsbawm, op cit, p 272.
2. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, p 461.
3. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 46.
4. op cit, p 460.
5. Wilson B. The Struggles of an Old Chartist, Dunn & Wilson, 1887) pp 6 - 13 for details of wages and prices during the 1840s. For details of customary differential between wages of skilled and unskilled labour cf Hobsbawm, op cit, p 290.
6. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, p 505.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.
9. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, Table IV, p 408. The apparent discrepancy between the figures quoted in the above source and those given in G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXII, p 464, may, perhaps, be explained by the fact that the former source was compiled by Alfred Greenwood, C S of the Bottle Hands Union, whereas the latter source was a reprint of a list formerly belonging to a Yorkshire manufacturer who for obvious reasons would apply the lowest wage rates appertaining to other bottlemaking districts as a criteria for payments to his own journeymen.
10. Leeds Mercury, 25th March 1868. Breffit's association with The Ryebread Works, Castleford, had commenced at a time when bottlemakers' wages were 24 shillings per week, a level which he continued to regard as the 'proper' rate until his death in 1882, cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 460. For autobiographical details concerning Edgar Breffit, cf Padgett, op cit, p 135, and British Trade Journal, 1st June 1876, pp 324 - 325.

11. United G.B.M. Reports, March 1860. Address by C S Thomas Chadwick advocating journeymen in all districts to hold out for North of England rates and conditions, p 10.
12. Op cit, p 9. The comparable rates following the 3/- advance in Yorkshire of 29th September 1860, were:

	NORTH OF ENGLAND	YORKSHIRE
Bottlemaker	1 - 8 - 0	1 - 7 - 0
Blower	1 - 4 - 0	1 - 5 - 0
Gatherer	1 - 1 - 0	1 - 0 - 0

North of England artisans were paid allowance for rent and coals and for all bottles drawn. The Yorkshire hands received no such concessions and were paid only for bottles in merchantable condition.
13. United G.B.M. Society Report, July 1859, pp 10 - 11.
14. United G.B.M. Society Report, March 1860, pp 1 - 2.
15. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, pp 49 - 50.
16. F.G.M.M. Volume I (New Series), p 445.
17. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 301.
18. Ibid, pp 302 - 303.
19. Ibid, p 266.
20. Ibid, p 303. For comparative details of wages and numbers applicable at several Yorkshire Glassworks, Ibid, pp 307 - 309 and for details of proposed list submitted by Union, Ibid, pp 303 - 304.
21. Ibid, p 305.
22. For definition of the tantum cf Chapter 4 supra. The threat to invoke the tantum in support of the acceptance of the 1872 List was also accompanied by the threat of a direct claim for an advance in wages. Ibid.
23. For manufacturers' amendments, ibid, p 303.

24. Ibid, p 266 and p 306.
25. Ibid.
26. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 51. Negotiations commenced 18th September 1878, and terms were finally agreed 30th April 1879 and the new List issued, May 1879.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid, p 52.
30. Before 1849 Lancashire chair differentials were 3/- between each journeyman stage, while those applicable to Yorkshire artisans were 2/- between bottlemaker and blower and 4/- between blower and gatherer, probably reflecting the scarcity of senior craftsmen in the Yorkshire trade at that period. For details of Lancashire wage rates cf Articles and Statistics Relating to the Glass Industry 1905 - 1910, p 119.
31. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, Table I, p 408.
32. F.G.M.M., Volume IV, p 96. Letter by Joseph Leicester, Secretary, London District who gives average London wage rates as:
Workman 32/- and 3/- per move overwork,
Servitor 24/- and 2/3 per move overwork.
These figures compared to 24/- and 2/- and 18/- and 1/- in most other areas of the flint trade. Leicester also quotes rates of 36/- and 3/9d, and 27/- and 2/6d for flint hands engaged on highly skilled work.
33. Ibid, pp 228 - 229.
34. Ibid.

35. Ibid. The footmakers' basic rate had been increased from 12/- per week and 1/- per move overwork in 1863 cf F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 123, but despite this the Edinburgh Conference of the F.G.Ms, held in June 1867, passed a formal expression of sympathy with the footmakers and recommended that influence be used to obtain a further advance, cf Conference Report, printed as frontispiece to F.G.M.M. Volume V, 1863 - 67.
36. C.S. Benjamin Smart who was employed in an Edinburgh glasshouse, quoted the following rates for a week's work of $5\frac{1}{2}$ moves at the largest works in Scotland, where 40 journeymen were employed:
- | | | |
|---|---|------|
| 1 | @ | 36/- |
| 2 | @ | 34/- |
| 1 | @ | 31/- |
| 7 | @ | 15/- |
| 1 | @ | 16/- |
- others 20/- to 30/-,
ibid, pp 851 - 856.
37. Ibid, pp 553 - 554. Reprint of evidence given to Childrens Employment Commission, 1865, by James Makepeace.
Manager of 22 years experience. The figures should be compared with those given in evidence by J. Geddes, a Glasgow manufacturer who quoted wages and overwork earnings viz:
- | | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| Finishers | £6 - £8 |
| Blowers | £3 - 10 - 0 |
| Gatherers | £2 - 5 - 0 |
| Putters-Up | £1 - 5 - 0 to £1 - 7 - 0 |
| Takers-In | 15 - 0 |
- on the basis of $62\frac{1}{2}$ dozens per move and overwork of $57\frac{1}{2}$ to $87\frac{1}{2}$ dozens, ibid, p 542.
38. Ibid, p 798. Reprint of extract from Levi L 'Working Class Earnings'. Levi quotes the average weekly earnings at that period as
- | | |
|----------|-------------|
| England | £1 - 12 - 4 |
| Scotland | £1 - 9 - 6 |
| Ireland | £1 - 3 - 6. |
39. Hobsbawm, op cit, p 280.

40. F.G.M.M., Volume V, p31.
41. Ibid, pp 59 - 60 for recommendation by C S Benjamin Smart that unemployment benefit be withheld from artisans refusing to take up vacant situations on the grounds that the wages offered were inferior to those paid at their previous place of employment.
42. The five hand system was adopted by the flint hands employed at the Miles Platting glassworks, Manchester. It was claimed at the Edinburgh Conference, June 1867, that the system was capable of increasing production by 2 to 2½ moves per week, an increase of one third per chair, with no additional labour cost. Ibid, p 994.
43. Ibid, pp 273 - 274.
44. F.G.M.M., Volume I (New Series), pp 727 - 734 for Survey of Yorkshire flint glass trade during 1860s and 1870s.
45. Ibid.
46. Ibid, p 445.
47. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 266 which cites a reduction of 5 dozens per week, being equivalent to 12s 4½d per week in chair wages.
48. F.G.M.M. Volume I (New Series) pp 445 - 449. The move was sanctioned as a result of a Manchester District Resolution at the 1875 Conference "..... that every district get a printed catalogue to ensure standard wages and numbers throughout the trade", ibid, p 250.
49. Ibid, p 81, p 208 and pp 727 - 734.
50. Ibid, p 545.

CHAPTER SEVEN:

TRADE UNION STRUCTURE AND CENTRALISM, CIRCA 1861 - 1880

(a) Centralism: Transitional Influences.

The years between 1843 and 1865 mark a transitional phase in the organisation of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society which transformed the Society from a locally (i.e. town) based Society, organised principally for mutual welfare, to one of a centrally governed County-wide trade union.

The factors underlying the transformation were threefold. The proliferation of glass bottle works from the mid 1840s and their dispersal to outlying areas of Yorkshire resulted in an influx of migrant workers to the area (cf Chapter 1 Supra) who were for the most part, non-unionists. At the same time, many of the newly-sprung manufacturers were former artisans whose recent workshop experience enabled them to take advantage of worker disorganisation to introduce new methods of production which were often at variance with traditionally observed practice. The resultant challenge to the trade was one which had to be met by the forces of organised labour in order to maintain the status of the fraternity. Consequently, the response to the assault on customary trade observance gave great impetus to union organisation within the new centres of the industry. The widened area of union activity invariably resulted in changes to the existing organisational structure as district meetings replaced the monolithic general meeting which had hitherto been the basis of union government.

The effect of the changed circumstances of trade on the role of the Society may perhaps be indicated by the changed title of the organisation which, from February 1848, was known as the 'Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Union Society', a title indicating an extension of activity beyond the social sphere and into the more militant area of trade consideration.¹ The administrative function of the Society, however, was the area in which a subtle but most fundamental change commenced. Thus, throughout the entire period of transition the token power of the union was the members 'in meeting assembled'² but whereas under the Castleford Society the term signified individual representation, after 1848 it indicated the collective voice of the district majority as convened through the medium of the Delegate

Meeting.³ The consequences for the exercise of traditional primitive democracy were considerable (cf (7c), infra).

The pattern of district organisation with each district having responsibility for the management of its own trade and financial affairs and the Delegate Meeting acting as the decision making body in affairs of a general nature,⁴ continued throughout the years of the National Amalgamation of regional societies (1859-61) and beyond, but by 1865 developments within both the Union and the trade caused organisational restructuring of the Society. Prior to 1865, the changes affecting the administrative structure of the Yorkshire Society were of an incidental nature, occurring as a result of administrative necessity, but the period 1865-67, is characterised by a determination to establish a centralised system of government. Consideration must, therefore, be given concerning not merely the nature and effect of the deliberate policy of governmental change, but also of the sources and influences which underlay such change.

The principal change factor was the ongoing assault upon trade custom, the cumulative effect of which was causing the erosion of the economic and craft status of the glass bottle hands. The autonomy of the districts encouraged the debasement of status by allowing the manufacturers to indulge in a policy of divide and rule by which innovations and trade violations in one factory unit set the pattern for the district which in turn established the standard for the trade. To counter the manufacturers' strategies two things were necessary, the organisation of all journeymen throughout the County, and the application of a united front through a centrally devised and executed worker strategy.

The sponsorship of centralisation coincided with the emergence of a new generation of unionists who inspired by the examples of centralised government afforded by the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, Boilermakers and other 'New Model' Unions were determined to re-organise the Yorkshire Society on a 'New Model' system in order to create an efficient and effective apparatus to implement a uniformed and successful resistance to the challenge of the manufacturers.

Whether such aims could have been advanced in face of the innate conservatism of the 'old guard' is speculative but for the developments within the Union organisation which had occurred as a result of

district government and which had by natural means produced the nucleus of centralism. Although the districts enjoyed a theoretical equality this was more apparent than real for Article 6 of the 1862 Rules stipulated

".... that each district have power to choose the number of delegates attending the district committee and the place of meeting".⁵

Since the expense of representation to the D.M. was borne by each district from its own funds, the effect was to invest the wealthier districts with a disproportionate share of delegates. As a result Castleford Branch by reason of size, wealth, geographical location and historic antecedence, dominated the Delegate Meeting.⁶ For this reason the appointment of a part-time central secretary to record the business of the Delegate Meeting, receive monies on behalf of the Society, and act as corresponding secretary to the trade,⁷ although nominally under the aegis of the Delegate Meeting, was in effect the gift of the Castleford Branch and the Castleford Branch secretary invariably filled the position, making Castleford the de-facto central seat of Union government.

TABLE 7:1 NAMES OF CORRESPONDING AND CENTRAL SECRETARIES OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1858 - 1919

PERIOD OF OFFICE				NAME OF CENTRAL SEC.	REMARKS
?	1858 -	?	1862	Samuel A. Parkin) Castleford Branch) and corresponding) Secretaries to Trade)) 1st C.S.- part time Permanent Full-time 1891
?	1862 -	APRIL	1864	John Henry Elland	
APRIL	1864 -	MARCH	1866	Samuel Blackburn	
MARCH	1866 -	OCT	1867	William Lindsay	
OCT	1867 -	FEB	1869	William Bagley	
FEB	1869 -	MARCH	1919	Alfred Greenwood	

The centralising tendency was strengthened by the fact that the Castleford Branch kept the general accounts in its Branch Ledger and, indeed, bore the cost of the Society's general expenditure from its district funds.⁸ Castleford Branch thus became the motivating branch of the Society and the centre to which all aspiring union activists were attracted⁹ and as a result it was from this source that the conscious movement towards central government emerged.

Amongst the ranks of the Flint Glass Makers the movement towards centralised government occurred at an earlier date than was the case with the Yorkshire bottle hands.

By 1849 the Flint Glass Makers faced with the recognition that the tramping subsidy which had characterised previous systems of union organisation, engendered the multiple evils of low wages, increased output, long hours and debasement of working conditions, were compelled to adopt a new administrative system.

Tramp relief represented a constant drain on revenue¹⁰ resulting in high grade artisans holding aloof from systems of Society in which their regular earnings provided contributions which subsidised the less able and profligate who formed the bulk of unemployed members.¹¹ As the more perceptive and able journeymen, upon whom the Union depended for its administrators as well as its financial stability were drawn from the ranks of the first grade artisans, their participation was essential to the successful function of the Union. In addition, the exercise of branch autonomy constituted a weakness in the system which had caused the collapse of the F.G.Ms. Society in 1848, despite its national organisation.¹²

The reformation of the Society following a trade conference held at Manchester 1849, abolished the tramping system which was replaced by a system of unemployment donation based on a central register. Under this system unemployed flint hands were directed seriatim by the Central Secretary, to listed vacancies notified by various employers.¹³ The reformed system represented a move from custom to calculation,¹⁴ providing a stability lacking in previous systems. But although embracing the principles of New Model unionism, the nationally organised and centrally directed system did not represent a total departure from customary practice which was deeply engraved on the artisan consciousness so that the 'new' union was characterised in its formative years by a degree of district autonomy which ensured gradualism in the process of centralised uniformity.¹⁵

In common with the Yorkshire Society, the process of centralisation adopted by the Flint Glass Makers was dictated by considerations arising from the prevailing conditions of the trade and artisan concern for the consequences of such conditions upon their lifestyle. The fact is fully acknowledged in the Rules of 1849 which declare the

aim of the Society as

"..... generally to maintain the status of
the Flint Glass Makers of the United Kingdom".¹⁶

This aim is more fully expressed in the Rules of the Glass Bottle
Makers of Yorkshire 1865, whose aims are defined as being to

"..... defend and maintain the rights of our
labour to better our condition and
raise ourselves to a just and legitimate
level in the Social Scale"¹⁷

and further

"..... for the purpose of improving their
social, intellectual and moral conditions
..... by every means in their power".¹⁸

(b) 'New Model' Reorganisation.

In June 1865, at the instigation of progressive elements drawn largely from Castleford district the Glass Bottle Makers delegates resolved to establish a Central Committee, known as the Executive Council, to settle all matters of trade arising between Delegate Meetings.¹⁹

The Council consisted of twelve members and a part-time Central Secretary nominated and appointed solely by Castleford Branch²⁰ which was also responsible for the appointment of a Society President and Central Treasurer from within the ranks of the Councilmen.²¹

Since 1843, the Glass Bottle Makers' Society had been governed by resolutions presented by representatives of the five districts of the County trade at the Delegate Meeting held at Normanton on the second Saturday of each quarter.²² Resolutions discussed and voted upon by the Delegates were incorporated into the rules of the Society until rescinded or altered by subsequent resolution. Alternatively important issues were referred to the membership for decision by means of a Trade Vote based on membership suffrage. The voting returns were then submitted for the consideration and sanction of the Delegate Meeting before investiture as Society law. The process of government by resolution whilst exemplifying the traditional observance of primitive democracy, was cumbersome, time consuming and confusing, and totally inadequate for the rapidly changing condition within the industry.

The first measure adopted by the Council was to establish a Rules Sub-Committee whose task was to ensure the government of the Society by

codified Rules rather than exigent resolution.²³ The advocates of the Council had envisaged its power, as being equal to that of the Delegate Meeting responsible for its creation and therefore the powers of the Council were implied rather than specifically defined.²⁴ The actions of the Council were frequently questioned by those members of Society less amenable to change and it was not until June 1868, that the power of the Executive Council was formally confirmed as equal to that of the Delegate Meeting.²⁵ The delay in the codification of new rules was compounded by the complexity of a myriad counter resolutions and further confused by adherence to the traditional system throughout the protracted period of rules revision.

The primary aim of the progressives to adopt New Model Unionism as a means of creating more stable and efficient government was unfulfilled until September 1867, when Castleford Branch, as the arbiter of Society power through its preponderance of Delegates and its monopoly of the Executive Council, curbed the power of both governing bodies to make, rescind or alter any Society Rule without reference to the membership for sanction by Trade Vote.²⁶ The action of Castleford Branch proved to be a watershed in the government of the Society, for although theoretically restricting both governing bodies, in practical terms the measure marked the rise in power of the Council and the decline of the Delegate Meeting. Something of the growing volume of Executive business is indicated by the fact that the Council's activities, which from lack of business had been conducted once a fortnight in 1868, were resumed on a weekly basis the following year.²⁷ Conversely, by 1869, formal notification ceased to be given to individual delegates regarding their attendance at the quarterly meeting²⁸ and by 1870, Swinton Branch proposed the discontinuance of the Delegate Meeting on the grounds that the nature of the business dispensed by the Delegates was disproportionate to the expense involved and could more easily be transacted by the Executive Council.²⁹ It is perhaps an indication of the increasing volume of business being undertaken by the Council that the Swinton resolution was rejected inter alia,

"that the duties of the Council men are sufficiently onerous at present without entailing on them more labour".³⁰

The ascendancy of the Executive Council had its genesis in mid-1867 when district expenses were subjected to the process of equalisation in order to facilitate the establishment of a Central Office bureaucracy.³¹ From the appointment of an independent Central Secretary,

Treasurer and President arose the system of uniform branch accountancy and centrally supervised auditing of branch accounts.³² The inter-branch transfer of members subject to the issue of a certificate of clearance by the Secretary of the artisans' former branch passed from district to central office supervision, while the reciprocal acceptance of each others members which had existed between the Lancashire and Yorkshire Bottle Makers' Societies since 1862, was extended and formalised in 1867.³³ In October 1875, the admission to Society membership of artisans from other counties was referred to the Council for individual consideration, thereby rescinding the general conditions previously decreed by Rule 27 of the 1865 Code.³⁴ Central administration was reinforced by the transfer of the Appeal Committee to the sole sphere of the Council, 1869³⁵ while the establishment of a Board of Arbitration and Conciliation, 1871, and the negotiation of a uniform list of wages and numbers, 1872, further strengthened the hand of the central executive³⁶ (cf Chapter 4, Supra). In addition, the introduction of a uniform procedure concerning the submission of branch business for consideration by either the Council or the Delegate Meeting enabled the Central Office to streamline administrative practice and simultaneously ensure the transmission of important business through the Council.³⁷ In 1869, the Council decreed that the system of proportional representation as observed by Castleford District branches, be applicable to all branches in the selection of district representatives.³⁸ The measure ostensibly made the Delegate Meeting a more stable body, but in effect negated all possibility of the Council being challenged by the Delegate Meeting by rescinding Rule 6 of the 1862 and 1865 codes which had provided each district with unrestricted representation at the Delegate Meetings.³⁹ Simultaneously, the organisation of self governing branches owing only nominal allegiance to district governing committees, with residual power within the Council to close or re-open branches and transfer membership from one branch to another on the basis of Society interest, further reinforced the supremacy of central government.⁴⁰ By 1880 the Council dominated Society affairs decreeing its decisions as final and denying all appeals against its decisions,⁴¹ refusing to allow deputations to wait upon it without prior sanction,⁴² and successfully resisting attempts to make it answerable to individual branches for its actions,⁴³ or to submit its decisions to the Trade for a confirmatory vote.⁴⁴

How did the Council attain its position of near absolutism? The

progress of centralised government falls into two phases. Initially the Council sponsored by Castleford Branch asserted its supremacy over the Delegate Meeting. Castleford, as the largest manufacturing district, drew the bulk of artisan glassmakers not merely because of greater opportunity or work, but also due to the fact that the local branch as arbiter of Council membership provided a career open to talent within the ranks of Society, together with the social and economic progressions via management and proprietorship which such association could engender. Artisans drawn by such considerations were generally of a progressive outlook, inclined towards new systems of union government such as those epitomised by the principles of New Model Unionism. Arising from its progressive outlook was the fact that the Council was free from the constraints imposed upon the Delegates by the members of the branches they represented. Council meetings were therefore characterised by the more efficient despatch of Society business and as Council Meetings were more frequent involving more immediate and important issues, the Councilmen were more conversant with trade issues than were the Delegates. The most significant development, however, was the appointment of the Central Secretary as an independent agent serving both arms of government but favouring the latter because of its progressive outlook and greater efficiency. By skilful management of business arising from Central Office correspondence⁴⁵ and the exercise of editorial judgement in the publication of the Quarterly Report, the Central Secretary was able to exert a direct influence on rank and file members over the heads of the district representatives thereby minimising the power of the Delegates with regard to administrative issues.⁴⁶ Paradoxically, the Delegate Meeting, under the preponderant influence of the 'progressive' faction, participated in its own decline by virtue of self-denying resolution which ensured the gradual supremacy of the Council.

The second phase of Council development occurred from the early 1870s and consisted of the assertion of its independence and authority over the branches themselves, aided by the advent of the most prosperous era experienced in the history of the trade. In 1872, the establishment of the Uniform List of Numbers, Wages and Overwork, negotiated by the Council, commanded rank and file approval and set a precedent for future collective bargaining by central government (cf Chapter 6, supra). The establishment of the General Investment Fund the following year also involved rank and file participation whilst allowing substantive power to reside in the hands of central authority.

The decision of the Council in 1877 to widen the catchment area for recruitment to the Council was a measure previously urged by an element of Society membership.⁴⁷ The new system under which the Council nominees were elected to office on the basis of membership suffrage marked a significant power shift within the Union by transferring to the Council the powers previously exercised exclusively by Castleford Branch, thereby making the Council independent of the Branch for the first time since the introduction of central government apparatus.⁴⁸ Through the exercise of its nominative prerogative the Council was able to ensure the appointment of those who were sympathetic to its aims and ideas, yet by the widening of its power base enhance the quality of Council membership and the efficiency of central government. The new-sprung independence of the Council was illustrated by its refusal to answer the summons issued by Castleford Branch in 1878, to account for its action.⁴⁹ The successful assertion of Council authority over the primary branch of the Society ensured its supremacy over all lesser branches and the permanence of centralised government.

Central government among the Flint Glass Makers also evolved as a response to changing trade conditions on the socio-economic status of the fraternity.⁵⁰ Like the Glass Bottle Makers' Society, that of the flint hands was originally a federation of trade districts loosely organised for the purpose of tramp relief. Unlike the Yorkshire Society, however, where a real specialisation resulted in geographical confinement of union organisation, that of the Flint Glass Makers was organised on a national basis with a mutually acceptable Central Secretary being the cohesive element between the autonomous districts.⁵¹

The reorganisation of the Flint Glass Makers' Society in 1849 further developed the principles of New Model Trade Unionism already apparent in national organisation and centralised co-ordination, by the abandonment of tramp relief and its replacement by a system of static unemployment donation. From 1857 the dispensation of unemployment benefit was administered in conjunction with the 'roll system', a centrally supervised register of unemployed members who were directed by rote to known vacancies commensurate with individual craft status.⁵² The prerequisite for centralised administration of union business was the establishment of a general branch. The flint glass trade, however, with its diverse geographical units and productive wares and more numerous and widely dispersed districts, was devoid of a pre-eminent seat of trade such as Castleford presented to the bottle trade. For these reasons, the governmental structure of the Flint Glass

Makers, whilst embracing traditional elements of primitive democracy with the exigent demands arising from the adoption of principles of New Model Unionism, such as those which evolved within the Bottle Makers Society at a later date, had a more flexible basis than that of the Yorkshire Society.

The appointment of a Central Secretary was undertaken as a result of annual election by the entire membership.⁵³ Once elected the home district of the Central Secretary became the seat of government for the trade. Through the exercise of the prerogative of office, the Central Secretary was empowered to nominate a resident Treasurer, and three other members drawn from his district to form a Central Committee to serve the whole trade.⁵⁴ The practical disadvantages arising from annual election resulted as early as 1850, in the triennial election of the Central Secretary and although the Rules of the Society did not prevent the re-election of the Central Secretary and two members were twice elected to office⁵⁵ no serving C.S. was re-elected for a consecutive term until William Packwood in the mid 1870s⁵⁶ (cf Table 7:2.)

TABLE 7:2 NAMES, PERIODS OF OFFICE AND REPRESENTATIVE TRADE DISTRICTS OF CENTRAL SECRETARIES OF THE F.G.M. SOCIETY, 1849 - 1902.

DATES	NAME OF CENTRAL SECRETARIES	DISTRICTS
1849 - 1850	William Bamford	Manchester
1850 - 1852	William Sivewright	Tutbury
1852 - 1854	William Gillinder	Birmingham
1854 - 1857	Benjamin Smart	Glasgow
1857 - 1860	Joseph Woolley	Stourbridge
1860 - 1863	William Sivewright	Tutbury
1863 - 1867	Benjamin Smart	Glasgow
1867 - 1871	Thomas Wilkinson	Birmingham
1871 - 1874	Joseph Rudge	Manchester
1874 - 1879	William Packwood	Stourbridge
1879 - 1887	Thomas Barnes	Birmingham
1887 - 1893	Henry Davies	Manchester
1893 - 1902	J. J. Rudge	Manchester

Source: F.G.M.M. 1852 - 1902 passim.

The election of Central Secretary every three years, whilst providing a de facto rotation of executive power which prevented the arbitrary imposition of policy such as that increasingly evident in the Bottle Makers Society from 1867, also engendered the feeling among rank and file flint hands that through the exercise of their right to vote a new Central Secretary into office, they controlled the central government apparatus. The system also promoted strong central policy through the nominative power of the Central Secretary to choose men of similar outlook to his own as members of the Central Committee. Another important element in the government of the Flint Glass Makers was the General Trade Conference, also held on a triennial basis. The Conference held in various areas of trade significance was attended by Delegates representing the districts of the trade.⁵⁷ The Conference was originally regarded as an important policy making assembly by the members of Society but the Webbs stated:

"The Delegates came together only for specific and strictly limited purposes. Nor were even these purposes left to be dealt with at their discretion. In all cases that we know of, Delegates were bound to decide according to votes already taken in their respective branches".⁵⁸

Increasingly, the important issues of the trade were decided by the Central Secretary aided by the Central Committee. The re-organisation of Society finances in 1852 at the initiative of Central Secretary, William Gillinder, and the issue of promissary notes by Central Secretary, Joseph Woolley during the 1859 period of strike and lock-out, together with the centrally negotiated settlement which followed and provided the basis for a nationally applied apprentice ratio, were instances of centralised decisions taken without Delegate Sanction via the Conference, as are less urgent ones such as the introduction of welfare benefits such as the Benevolent Fund, Death Grant, and Sick Club. In common with the Yorkshire Bottle Makers, the executive of the Flint Glass Makers' Society made increasing use of the quarterly trade journal for the dissemination of ideas and information. By the mid 1860s both societies used the Quarterly as an instrument of government with propositions made by the executive bodies or branches of the trade directly communicated to the membership and the results of the ensuing votes, recorded within its pages. The system of direct representation rendered obsolete the

traditional one of delegate representation. Within the Yorkshire Society, where expense was modified by limitations of number, distance and time involved, the Delegate Meeting was retained as supplementary aid to the work of the Executive Council, and as a sounding board for general opinion. Within the context of the Flint Glass Makers' national organisation, however, delegate expenses were a more significant consideration. Between 1861 and 1864, the cost of the Conferences held at Manchester rose by 58% from £66 to £113, and by the time of the Edinburgh Conference of 1867 the cost had increased by a further 34% to £324.⁵⁹ The substantial increase in Conference expenditure reflects a burgeoning aristocratic consciousness within the Flint Glass Makers' Society, regarding delegate expenses. In 1849, economic constraints imposed a limitation of 1/- per day on Conference delegates. The following year the Birmingham Conference fixed the daily rate of 5/-, plus third class railway carriage. In 1864, the daily allowance was raised to 6/-. In 1867, following agitation by Joseph Leicester of London district, who argued that as the richest Society in the world the Union was not only in a position to provide delegates with the degree of comfort to which their home circumstances accustomed them, but that the Society should pay second class fares to ensure that its servants were as respectable as those of other societies, the allowance was increased.⁶⁰ The Edinburgh Conference of 1867 revised the Rules stating

"That every delegate to the general conference shall receive 7/6d per day for his expenses, and 7/6d per turn during the time the factory is at work where he is employed; but on no account shall any delegate suffer loss through attending trade's conference, and every delegate shall receive second class fare".⁶¹

The self-awarded generosity of the delegates provoked much unfavourable criticism amongst rank and file flint hands, the bulk of whom

"..... saw no great advantage in incurring the very considerable expense of paying coach fares of delegates to a central town and maintaining them there at a rate of six shillings a day, when the introduction of the penny postage made possible the circulation of a fortnightly or monthly circular, through the medium of which their votes on any particular proposition could be quickly and inexpensively collected".⁶²

In September 1870, Warrington District proposed

"..... that we hold no more general conferences, except something very special and important calls for one, and then only with the sanction of the trade".⁶³

The proposition carried by a vote of 1104 to 447, and the general conference was thereafter abolished. The Central Committee took a neutral attitude to the issue although the existing Rules specified the calling of a conference every three years 'if necessary'. At the subsequent 'Special' Conference, convened at Manchester 1871, it was decreed

"that the trade, through its executive shall have power to call a General Conference at any time it may be considered necessary".⁶⁴

Thus, in common with trends within the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society, the functions of delegate representation were superceded by trade referendum.

(c) Conflict - New Modelism and Primitive Democracy.

The deliberate adoption of 'New Model' Unionism by both societies of glass artisans from the third quarter of the nineteenth century poses two fundamental questions: What was the effect of the newly adopted system of government upon the previously observed aspects of primitive democracy, and how did the rank and file react to such change?

Matsumura has shown that far from being an invention of the Webbs or a historical fiction, the Flint Glass Makers were fully conscious of the 'New Model' concept of government. As a result of this awareness the debate between the 'Old School' champions of primitive democratic participation, and those of the 'New School' who argued for 'New Modelism' as the necessary basis for efficient government, arose because of the implications of change.⁶⁵ The same polarisation is also evident within the ranks of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society where, like the Flint Glass Makers', a residual degree of primitive democratic sentiment continued to permeate despite the administrative change. One crucial difference, however, between the two societies was the degree of interest and involvement in the affairs of their society shown by the Flint Glass Makers compared to the apathy and indifference exhibited by the members of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society. The contrast is clearly evident by reference to the data concerning the extent of members' participation in trade

votes on various propositions arising from matters concerning trade and Society Government. The degree of participation is also reflected in the source of the propositions which, in the case of the flint hands, overwhelmingly originate in the district branches compared to those of the bottle hands in which the dualism of the governmental apparatus provides the source of the vast majority.

The number and sources of the propositions submitted for voting upon by the members of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society during the period 1869-79 is shown in Table 7:3.⁶⁶ The Table shows that of 135 propositions concerning the policies and administration of the Society, 62, representing 45.9% of the total were submitted by the Executive Council. A further 39, or 28.8% came from the Delegate Meeting, whilst 25 propositions, being 18.5% of the total, emanated from the branch membership. The data indicates the predominant power of the Central Executive for not only does the number of Council propositions almost equal the total of the other two sources, but when the propositions of the Delegates are added to those of the Council it will be seen that three quarters of all items had their origin in the pari-mutualism of the governmental machinery. Furthermore, the propositions framed by branch members were initially submitted for consideration and approval by the Delegate Meeting, in accordance with Society custom and later, by Resolution, through the medium of Central Office. Given the declining power of the Delegates during the period in contrast to the ascendancy of the Centrally based Executive Council, it will be seen that the system made little actual concession to the concept of primitive democracy and that the exercise of membership suffrage which formed the basis of the concept was somewhat cosmetic in view of the nature and source of propositions voted upon. That the fact was not lost upon many branch members may account for low turn-out by rank and file members when issues were put to the vote. Only on two occasions in the eleven year period covered by the Table did the highest annual vote exceed more than half the total membership. This is not to imply that the 'centralising tendency' did not carry the support of the majority of Society members, for of the 135 submitted propositions, many designed to further centralisation, 115 were approved by the votes of the rank and file. Nevertheless, the average vote of 42.1% indicates that many members, be it from lack of education, innate conservatism, or natural apathy, were indifferent to the issues concerning the trade and its governance, while a vocal and subversive minority opposed to centralised administration existed,

TABLE 7:3

TABLE 7:3 SHOWING NUMBER AND SOURCE OF PROPOSITIONS VOTED UPON BY MEMBERS OF YORKSHIRE GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS' SOCIETY DURING PERIOD 1869 - 79 (1)

YEAR	No. OF PROPS'	SOURCE OF PROPOSITIONS			No. OF PROPS'	HIGHEST VOTE	% OF MEMBERS REPRESENTED BY HIGHEST VOTE
		EXC.	D.M.	BRANCH			
1869	19	6(a)	2	1	14	327	45.0
1870	34	17	6	11	31	360	46.6
1871	8	1	3	4	8	348	43.6
1872	9(b)	1	6(c)	2	6	366	44.2
1873	26	16	8	2	23	457	50.8
1874	11	9	2	-	9	290	29.1
1875	1	-	1	-	0	291	27.5
1876	16	9	6	1	15	595	53.1
1877	5	3	1	2	4	428	37.6
1878	No returns Recorded						
1879	6	-	4	2	5	508	44.1

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867-- 1879, passim

- (1) Trade Votes re election of Councilmen, Trustees, and membership of Appeals Committee etc., not included.
- (a) Source of ten propositions not stated.
- (b) One proposition requiring double vote regarded as a single item.
- (c) One proposition sponsored jointly by D.M. and ExC. regarded as a D.M. proposition as item originated in D.M.

TABLE 7:4

TABLE 7:4 NUMBER AND SOURCE OF PROPOSITIONS VOTED UPON BY MEMBERS
OF NATIONAL FLINT GLASS MAKERS' SOCIETY DURING PERIOD
1852 - 1879 (1)

YEAR	No. OF PROPS'	SOURCE OF PROPOSITIONS		No. OF PROPS' ACCEPTED	HIGHEST VOTE	% OF MEMBERS REPRESENTED BY HIGHEST VOTE
		C.C.	DISTRICT			
1852	10	8	2	9	751	80.1
3	20	16	4	17	915	88.3
4	21(a)	4	17	17	892	88.0
5	6	3	3	4	896	88.5
6	6	2	4	4	843	84.5
7	10	5	5	6	1108(b)	90.2
8	18	6	12	13	1225	94.6
9	24	4	20	14	1264	98.1
1860	14	-	14	11	1347	96.1
1	7	-	7	7	1379(c)	-
2	11	-	11	8	1304	94.2
3	9	-	9	5	1407	98.1
4	19	1	18	13	1546	100.0
5	30	6	14	17	1535	95.5
6	19	3	16	15	1609	98.2
7	3	2	1	2	1390	82.0
8	14	4	10	5	1536	90.9
9	12	2	10(d)	10	1622	94.2
1870	12	-	12	10	1765	99.3
1			No Returns Recorded			
2	5	1	4	5	1380	75.0
3	18	-	18	9	1765	94.2
4	7	-	7	7	1837	95.0
5	16	4	12	12	1946	97.0
6	21	3	18	14	1945	96.5
7	9	2	7	7	1970	94.6
8	10	3	7	10	1934	94.6
9	5	2	3	3	1699	84.9

Source: F.G.M.M., 1852 - 1879, passim

- (1) Trade Votes regarding Trustees, Locations for Society funds to be deposited, etc., not included. Nominations for C.S. involving more than 2 candidates counted as separate propositions and where 2 nominees with highest votes were re-submitted to Trade, ensuing vote is regarded as a separate proposition.
- (a) Two further district propositions withdrawn.
- (b) 109 additional neutral votes recorded.
- (c) This figure exceeds the total membership and may be due to a typographical error.
- (d) Result of 1 other proposition withheld by C.C. pending investigation re members' entitlement to sum in lieu of all further claim.

TABLE 7:5

TABLE 7:5 COMPARISON OF VOTES ON PROPOSITIONS - G.B.M. SOCIETY AND F.G.M. SOCIETY,
1852 - 1879

PERCENTAGE OF VOTING MEMBERS				
S O C I E T Y	90+	80+	70+	60+
F.G.Ms.	19	7	1	-
PERCENTAGE OF VOTING MEMBERS				
S O C I E T Y	50+	40+	30+	20+
G.B.Ms.	2	5	1	2

Source: (i) F.G.M.M. 1852-79 passim (ii) G.B.M. Reports 1869-79 passim

N.B. NO RETURNS WERE RECORDED BY THE F.G.Ms. IN 1871 NOR BY THE G.B.Ms. IN 1878

particularly amongst the larger branches of the Society such as Swinton, Thornhill Lees, Hunslet, and even within the seat of centralism, Castleford. The situation contrasts significantly with that concerning the Flint Glass Makers' Society shown in Table 7:4. Over the 28 year period of 356 propositions voted upon by the flint hands, 265, representing 74.4% were submitted by the District membership compared to only 81 or 22.7% submitted by the Central Committee. A comparison based on the last eleven years reveals a similar pattern with 16.4% submissions by the Executive against 83.5% by the membership. The situation within the Bottle Makers' Society is, therefore, in inverse proportion to that of the Flint Glass Makers, but though the rate of acceptance within each society is broadly comparable, 85.1% for the Bottle Makers and 71.4% for the Flints, the decisions of the latter society rest on a more substantial basis for of the highest annually recorded votes that of 75% recorded in 1872 is the poorest example. High votes in excess of 90% were common and in one instance (1864) involved the entire membership. The average rate of participation by flint hands, at 82.8% was nearly double that of the bottle hands.

Table 7:5 indicates a more positive response by the flint hands and studied in conjunction with Table 7:4 indicates an increasing degree of membership participation between 1852 and 1856, rising to levels in excess of 90% from the following decade with only two exceptions, 1872 and 1879. The bottle hands by contrast, experienced their greatest degree of participation at the commencement of the period with votes of 40% plus, rising to slightly in excess of 50% by 1873. Thereafter a sudden decline is evident until 1876 when the most noticeable degree of participation occurred and by the close of the period the voting rate was approximately that at the start of the period. What features explain the fluctuation and more significantly, the contrast between the two groups? Three intensive phases of voting are evident within the Bottle Makers' Society. In 1870, when 31 propositions out of 34 were approved, the majority were designed to refine the Society's administrative system. Although acceptance had the ultimate effect of expanding or consolidating the power of the Executive Council, the effect was neither apparent to the majority of the rank and file voters, nor had the hostility which was later manifested against the Executive obtained significant expression throughout the trade. The majority of the propositions framed by the various branches at the time were of a deferential nature, being largely

ones seeking the approval of one or other of the governmental bodies for suggested courses of action arising in consequence of trade issues at individual branches. It is noticeable that from 1870 - the number of branch propositions received⁶⁵ as the Central Executive begins to exercise more uniform government over the trade. From this time the process of representative government emerged more strongly as the still powerful Delegate Meeting began to reflect the aspirations of the rank and file. Thus, between 1871-73, voting figures remain consistent, despite erosion of the earlier form of primitive democracy as members were consulted via the trade vote on issues such as uniform lists of wages and numbers, or measures for streamlining the financial aspects of Society affairs. It would seem that during the boom years of 1873-76 members were largely content to leave the conduct of Society affairs to those most interested in such matters, usually the keenest supporters of 'New Model' centralisation, and it was not until the advent of adverse conditions within the trade that an increased participation in the trade vote is evident.

Matsumura has noted examples of the erosion of primitive democracy within the Flint Glass Makers' Union after 1850, but has shown how the element of the membership representing the 'Old School' through the general observation of specific modes of conduct concerning the Society's affairs, were able to assure themselves that a check was maintained against the imposition of arbitrary rule by the Central Committee. Thus, although the power of the Central Secretary to nominate the members of the Central Committee did not conform with the ideal of primitive democracy, the role of the members in the election of the Central Secretary for a period of limited tenure was regarded as sufficient check against possible abuse.⁶⁷ Likewise, the annual conference was regarded as a most important manifestation of primitive democracy,⁶⁸ and although erosion occurred due to the evolution of representative democracy it did, initially, provide a vehicle for the expression of dissident opinion and the formulation of constructive policies based on consensus. The growing use of the Magazine as a medium for the dissemination of information whilst representative of 'New Model' organisation and an influential factor in the proposal to abandon regular trade conferences on grounds of cost and utility, was nevertheless generally regarded as a medium for rank and file opinion, whether expressed through the correspondence of individual members or the collective resolutions of district

branches.⁶⁹ Matsumura has also suggested that the refusal to bear the expense of appointing a permanent secretary like those of other leading 'New Model' Societies, had less to do with comparisons of size or wealth than with the desire of the rank and file to prevent a professional bureaucracy which however more efficient, would strengthen centralised power at the cost of primitive democracy.⁷⁰ Many examples are to be found of criticism by rank and file flint hands, of aspects of centralised government. In 1852 the Longport District Committee questioned the changing role of the Conference asking:

"Is it not to take the sense of the whole trade at large, or is it to let a few individuals run the trade?"⁷¹

At the same time the expense of producing the Magazine was called into question and it was stated that the majority of the trade would prefer its abolition.⁷² In 1854, ex Central Secretary, William Gillinder, referring to the wide suspicion occasioned by the centrally imposed financial reconstruction which he had previously inspired, stated

".... my measures were not popular, and I was denounced as a second Napoleon.... I knew that if I proposed a fund of one thousand pounds, it would be said I wanted to run away with it, and it was said so".⁷³

The underlying suspicion of the encroachment of centralised power, combined with the same parsimony which was used to block the appointment of a permanent Central Secretary was also used by some 'die-hards' of the primitive democratic school to advocate the abandonment of the trade conference on the issue of delegate expenses. Indeed, the reluctance to sanction such expenditure had always been apparent.⁷⁴ Although the accumulated wealth of the Society had fostered the development of artisan self esteem through the increased labour aristocratic consciousness,⁷⁵ the conflict between the manifestation of status ferment and financial extravagance was ever present and by 1867, had resulted in a

".... great amount of unfavourable criticism and chronic dissatisfaction amongst members of our Society"

culminating in the 1870 decision by the trade to abandon the conference, to the ^mdisconfiture of the Executive, despite its professed

indifference.⁷⁶ The decision was in effect as much an attempt to check the growing power of centralised government by the application of primitive democracy as an exercise in financial expediency. The consequence of the decision was government by referendum via the aegis of the Magazine and the trade vote and the partial restoration of a system of primitive democracy applicable before the 1849 'New Model' reorganisation when the

"Trade vote was (previously) the only means of policy making, and very adequate".⁷⁷

Despite the direct participation afforded by the referenda, criticism of the central administration grew as the effects of depressed trade began to adversely affect Society revenue during the mid 1870s. Ostensibly, the criticism concerned financial affairs but an underlying mistrust of centralisation is discernable in such criticism. Criticism was fuelled in 1874 by the defalcations of Central Secretary Joseph Rudge who fraudulently appropriated £564 of Society funds.⁷⁸ Confidence in the Central Executive was further questioned in November 1874 when newly elected Central Secretary, William Packwood, was obliged to defend his Stourbridge based Council concerning the whereabouts of Society income from the sale of trade emblems.⁷⁹ That the rank and file mistrust went much deeper is evident from a letter in the Magazine which attacked the cost of the settlement of a recent industrial dispute in the Manchester District which it was claimed, equalled the combined expenditure of all other districts of the Society.⁸⁰ Another letter in the same issue of the Magazine, by J.C. Barnes, Secretary of the large and influential Birmingham District, openly advocated self government by districts, a clear call for the restoration of primitive democratic government in its pristine form.⁸¹ The attack was further re-inforced by a letter from James Oxberry of York District who alleged that the

".... Society's money in a (sic) many instances, has been recklessly squandered"

and attacked both the office of Central Secretary and the system of central administration.⁸² The shock arising from Rudge's dishonest conduct doubtless explains the high incidence of overt criticism cited above. Nevertheless, the source and fervour of the criticism indicates a significant element within the Society who either whole heartedly espoused the cause of primitive democracy or retained a degree of primitive democratic sentiment which prevented them giving their unreserved support to 'New Model' concepts of centralised government.

That the critics were out-numbered by the advocates of centralisation and that the 'New Model' system was sufficiently tried and tested to command the support of the majority of the members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, explains why the Society remained intact and the system of centralised government endured. It is interesting to note, however, that in a trade vote in which Society' members approved an increase in the salary of the Central Secretary to £50 p.a., in 1875, almost 38% of votes cast were against the proposition.⁸³ The proposition emanated from the districts, presumably from the pro Executive element who, denied the desired appointment of a full-time Central Secretary, saw the financial enhancement of the office as a means of ensuring a Secretary of sufficient calibre and conscientiousness to guarantee the efficiency and unquestioned acceptance of the system. The fact that in a 87% turnout the measure was only carried by 472 votes, suggests considerable doubt by a significant number of members in the judgement of the majority, if not in the utility of the system of government itself. The following year saw the re-inforcement of the centralist system when by a total vote of 90.7%, the majority voted to remove restrictions on the terms of office served by the Central Secretary.⁸⁴ The measure strengthened central power by ensuring greater continuity in governmental policy, and at the same time paved the way for the ultimate appointment of a permanent Central Secretary. If the measure was attained at the expense of further and fatal erosion of primitive democracy, however, it is some indication of the depth of primitive democratic sentiment among an element of the membership that the appointment of the first permanent Central Secretary did not occur for a further generation.

The dissent in the Glass Bottle Makers' Society, whilst it also had a financial dimension, was more diverse and bitter in its tone and unlike the generalised criticisms of the flint glass makers, involved attacks on personalities. As early as 1867 a question was raised in the Delegate Meeting by a member of Castleford Branch relative to the working expenses of Central Secretary, William Bagley who, together with ex Central Secretary, William Lindsay, and Alfred Greenwood, then Secretary of Hunslet District, had travelled to Rochdale to draw up the Tramping Agreement with the representatives of the Lancashire Glass Bottle Makers' Society. In consequence of having to set off early in the morning, Bagley had engaged a man to work in his place the night previous. The Castleford Delegate objected to the Central Secretary charging the Society with the working expenses for the shift

in question and considered that Bagley ought to have made his number before leaving home, even though this would have involved him working all the night before travelling to Rochdale.⁸⁵ After the return of the deputation to Lancashire, the Executive Council considered that an additional remuneration of 6 shillings each should be paid in appreciation of their services. The matter was put to a vote of the trade but some branches were indisposed to accept the Council recommendation whilst others suggested revised sums which they considered to be sufficient. The Delegate Meeting was convened to resolve the issue and Bagley and Lindsay being present stated their determination not to accept the additional remuneration

"in consequence of the nature of the discussion",
whereupon the Delegates accepted a resolution,

"That Bros Lindsay and Bagley be not pressed to accept anything beyond the ordinary expenses, but that Bro. Greenwood have 6 shillings additional".⁸⁶

Greenwood's absence from the above Delegate Meeting provides some indication that the issue concerning the expenses of Rochdale Delegation may have merely been a pretext for the expression of opposition to central government by an element within the Society which favoured more traditional systems of local autonomy based on primitive democratic concepts. In July 1867, Greenwood had resigned as secretary of the Hunslet district

"Because he had not been supported on many occasions by members of that branch as he ought to have been and in consequence of this, some business had not been properly disposed of".⁸⁷

Greenwood cited several instances to prove his case showing that a number of members were disdainful of the Society's Rules, particularly regarding benefit entitlement, and that the majority of the branch were so indifferent to the Rules that they

"would passively allow"

such misconduct. Greenwood, who in the two preceeding years had reorganised the branch administration on New Model lines stated

"That he had been treated on many occasions in anything but a respectful manner; and although the members of that branch had appointed him to act as secretary, also to represent them on the Rules Committee, yet there were many of them who seemed not to have confidence in him".⁸⁸

Furthermore,

"..... there was some disaffection existing amongst the members of that branch members frequently making assertions, and protesting against what had been passed, and also instigating members who had violated the regulations of the Society not to conform to such regulations....."

therefore

"He had not confidence in most of the members in that branch with respect to establishing a proper code of Rules because he was persuaded that if the members would not endeavour to do what was right according to Rule, they might as well be without Rules".⁹⁰

As a result of a six man Delegation's Report following a visit to investigate Greenwood's action, a special Delegate Meeting found Greenwood

"fully justified in resigning office".⁹¹

Nor was opposition to the Central Executive solely confined to Hunslet Branch, for a similar situation at Thornhill Lees Branch resulted in the resignation of C. Bishop as Branch Secretary, having been

"abused and insulted".

Bishop's successor, Samuel Blackburn, a friend of Greenwood and like him a 'New Model' unionist, in a long letter of complaint concerning the attitude of branch members who had threatened to

"wall up the eyes"

of the Branch President, for invoking Society Rule and

"insulted abominably".

The President and Secretary concluded,

"My position at present is unbearable to mortal man, and I want a remedy, because if things go on as they are going on, I shall not only give up the office, but I also shall be under the necessity of leaving the Branch, and letting it take its own course".⁹²

The Council was divided in its response; some members considering a letter of reproof by the Central Secretary sufficient to assert

the Council's authority, others

"considered that the interests of the Society would not and could not be served, unless a deputation was appointed to visit the Branch", a course which was finally approved.⁹³ It was also due

"to the unpleasantness between.....the present Central Secretary, and some of the members in the Castleford Branch...."

that William Bagley threatened to resign his post after only nine months in office and although persuaded to reconsider, did in fact resign the following year.⁹⁴ The above instances indicate a reluctance by an element within several of the larger branches to accept the authority of the 'New Model' system of government within the Glass Makers' Society. Such reluctance, whether indicated by aggression or indifference, can only be regarded as the rearguard action of the 'primitive democratic' adherents. Indeed, it is not improbable to assume that the aggressive conduct of a minority of members was a response to the attempts by 'New Model' activists to impose new aspects of centralism at the expense of branch autonomy after 1865. The role of the Council had resulted in

"much misunderstanding and unpleasantness"

and it became necessary to define its powers formally to obviate criticism among the rank and file. Hostility is evident in the response to the proposal to create a full-time General Secretary, a measure carried by such a narrow margin that it was considered inexpedient to implement the proposal.⁹⁵ The codification of the 'New Rules', much advocated by the 'Centralists' as a means of replacing the unstable system of government by Resolution and Trade Votes, was never completed, presumably because the existing system was regarded as a more democratic expression of rank and file opinion by a large element of the membership.⁹⁶ Something of the impracticality and inefficiency of continued government by resolution and vote is seen with regard to the failure of branch secretaries to implement a resolution passed unanimously by the delegate Meeting in 1869. The Resolution stated that all journeyman members should be charged two pence per copy for future issues of the Report,

"whether they receive it or not,"

or otherwise be placed in arrears and ultimately, suspended from benefit.⁹⁷ Less than six months after the passing of that Resolution the Central Secretary reported

"I have heard that in certain Branches the members have not been charged the 2d, neither have they been fined and suspended from benefits".⁹⁸

The writer, Alfred Greenwood, interpreted the situation as an oversight arising from the failure of branch officials to refer to the frequent changes in Society Rules arising from newly approved resolutions published in the Reports. Greenwood's interpretation stressed the inconvenience and inefficiency of the traditional system of government but a degree of reluctance to observe the Resolution may well have arisen from resentment concerning enforced payment for a publication which some members regarded as a vehicle for the unwelcome dissemination of Executive opinion which a number of members were unwilling, and others unable, to read.⁹⁹ The extent to which the 'primitive democrats' were able to enlist the support of the illiterates is, of course, indeterminate. There is less doubt concerning opposition to the editorial views contained within the Report, views which in addition to instruction regarding 'New Model' methodology, designed to ensure uniformity as a means to efficient administration, were frequently critical of the views of rank and file members when such views were at variance with Executive attitudes. Much rank and file opposition to the Report arose from its changed role. The 1862 Rules had provided

"That Magazines be published half-yearly with the Reports of the Society, each member to receive a copy".¹⁰⁰

The original intention was, therefore, to present each member with accounts showing income and expenditure of each branch. With the creation of a Central Office in 1865, the Rule was revised stating

"That the Balance Sheets be published quarterly, with the Reports of the Society and copies sent to each district".¹⁰¹

Six months later the Rule was rescinded and provision made

"That the Council's proceedings be published in the Report every quarter".¹⁰²

Thus within a short space of time the Report had developed primarily as a medium for central government information with the once universal circulation restricted to an unspecified number per district. With the commencement of the New Series of Reports in 1867, the Delegates decided to allow any member who desired a copy to obtain one by

advance order at a charge of 2d per copy. The decision was prompted by the awareness that

"For a long time, a considerable amount of dissatisfaction has not only been felt, but also expressed, in consequence of the very limited number of Quarterly Reports that have been issued. Complaints have been repeatedly made that only a minority of the members could possibly obtain a knowledge of the general business of the Society".¹⁰³

Clearly, the strength of rank and file opinion at the denial of democratic right to be informed and have the opportunity to participate in Society affairs was substantial. The necessity to pay for what had once been freely available to all was also seen by some as a departure from democratic practice for in the following issue Central Secretary, William Lindsay, remarked

"I have been informed that there are some members who think they ought to have the Report gratis; but I think when they are aware of how much they cost the Society - namely nearly 5d each
..... they will agree with me that 2d per copy is not out of the way".¹⁰⁴

Lindsay further justified the charge,

"..... because I think if members have to pay something for them, they will be read more than they would if they were given away indiscriminately and in that case would prove a benefit rather than a disadvantage".¹⁰⁵

Lindsay's Address to the Trade in the Report of January 1867 had concluded

"..... that it is intended, from time to time to publish short articles on Trades' matters generally. Any member, therefore, will be at liberty to send to the C.S. any Article (either original or copied) that may be deemed worthy of insertion".¹⁰⁶

The statement was significant in that considered in the context

of an earlier paragraph in the Address which had expressed the hope that if readers of the Report

".....should find anything, which does not seem altogether square and above board, I hope they will make their voices heard at the proper time and place; so that wrongs can be put right and officers may know that members have an eye on what is being done".¹⁰⁷

Clearly, the use of the Report as a forum for debate and discussion, as was the case with the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine, would have provided an exercise in primitive democracy which would not only act as a release for hostile sentiments, but more importantly, would, perhaps, have engendered a desire for greater acceptance of central authority on the part of the rank and file and increased participation in Society' affairs. As it was, both Lindsay and his successor, William Bagley, chose to exercise the editorial power conferred upon them,¹⁰⁸ to deny a voice to the members, confining articles in the Report to subjects concerning trade unions in general. The decision isolated and alienated the critics of the central government, an alienation that was further underlined by the efforts first of Bagley and then of Greenwood, to promote the principles and practice of New Model unionism within the individual branches of the Society. As a result, rank and file resentment towards what was regarded as an imposed and undemocratic system of government was fuelled. The earliest formal articulation of such feeling was made in late 1870, when Swinton Branch proposed the discontinuance of the Delegate Meeting and the restructuring of the Executive Council as a Representative Council elected by the branches. Rejection of the proposal by the Delegates also meant denial to the members of a Trade Vote which would have made known the support for the proposed measure and resulted in settlement of the issue. In consequence of the arbitrary dismissal by the Delegates the issue continued to be a rallying point for dissident members and provided a basis for continuing attacks on the Council throughout the following decade. The role of the defender of the Executive by loyal inclination as well as by reason of the exercise of editorial control of the Report fell to Alfred Greenwood. Through identification with the Council as its chief official and his advocacy of New Model administration, Greenwood became the victim of increasingly bitter and personal abuse. As the focal point for Executive action it was generally considered that Greenwood was

the principal source of motivation by Central government.¹¹⁰ Certainly, Greenwood's strong personality, known views and indeterminate tenure of office must, however unintentionally, have exerted an influence on the attitude and decisions of both Council and Delegates. As the communicator of decisions arising from interpretation of Society Rules regarding disentitlement to welfare benefits claimed by individual members, it is easy to see why the Central Secretary was frequently regarded as a 'Dictator'.¹¹¹ As a result, Greenwood was justifiably able to assert that,

"The Council is merely the target, the
Central Secretary is the bulls-eye".¹¹²

On numerous occasions, Greenwood, outspoken by nature and reinforced by the wisdom of 'New Model' government and the immunity of his official position from any attempted dismissal by the rank and file turned on the critics of himself and the Executive. In response to the charge of a lateness of the Report Greenwood scathingly stated

"No doubt many of you have asked ere now
why it is not to hand? And, perhaps,
some of you have, according to your ideas,
answered the question to your own satisfaction. I am often asked the question -
why is the Report so late? The answer
is generally the same. The cause is not
generally known, and many of you entertain a wrong notion on the subject.

..... The compiling of the Report does
not constitute the whole of the Central
Secretaries' duties".¹¹³

Having outlined the magnitude of the tasks undertaken by the Central Secretary, Greenwood carried the attack to the branch members themselves via the

"imperfect and incorrect manner"

in which Branch accounts were sent in and in consequence of not having reached him until well into the following quarter.¹¹⁴ The statement came immediately after an earlier Address in which Greenwood had criticised the greed and clamour of certain members for seeking an advance in wages having just secured an improvement to the Uniform List of Wages and Numbers, which had brought protests on the grounds that such remarks by the Central Secretary were uncalled for.¹¹⁵ Such remarks, however truthful, were not calculated to endear either Greenwood or his Executive to the rank and file. An example of

the hostility engendered is seen in the case of the Council appointed deputation to Wakefield Branch in September 1873, to examine charges of impropriety by some members who it was alleged, had used improper language against the Council and its decisions, conduct which it was claimed was not the first instance of misconduct by branch members.¹¹⁶ By 1874 the situation in general had grown so critical that Greenwood was obliged to answer

"..... some members who avail themselves of every opportunity to make a bad impression on the minds of members respecting the Council and the Central Secretary and who will stop at nothing short of misrepresentation. They affirm that the Council is not to be trusted, and that it is at the mercy of the Central Secretary. And some members have been influenced by these and other statements until they have expressed themselves in favour of having what they term a 'Representative Council'".¹¹⁷

The object of the rank and file in advocating such a course was stated as being

"..... to get the affairs of the Society administered better than they have been or are now administered".¹¹⁸

The immediate cause of dissatisfaction was stated as being

"to the Council appointing a Committee to examine Branch Accounts, and to paying at the rate of 9d an hour for assistance to the Central Secretary....."

actions which led the Council to be

"accused of being too officious, and interfering with business which does not belong to it".¹¹⁹

Greenwood fully countered all charges and criticisms by showing the legality and efficiency of the Council as well as his own conduct compared to the expense and inferiority of the Delegate Meeting which was similar in its constitution to the 'Representative Council' advocated by the dissidents, and remarked

"Perhaps it would be better for the Society if it could be said respecting some of

those who are influencing the members against the Council, that they were doing so through ignorance. But we fear this is not the case".¹²⁰

Pointing out the constraints of size and economy which precluded the emulation of the A.S.E. in expelling members for non-compliance with Society rules.¹²¹ Greenwood stated

"The Council has much approval from members, which is not exhibited conspicuously, but whose main support and influence are lost by absenting themselves from the Society's meetings....."¹²²

In view of his irrefutable evidence in favour of the Executive Council, Greenwood concluded by scathingly asking,

"Why are some of the members dissatisfied with the Council? Is it because they are so very far in advance of the Council in intelligence and business abilities? If so, what reason will they assign for the Society now being in the condition as we have described and how will they excuse themselves in not having set matters to right ere this? These and other questions they are bound to answer satisfactorily before they can reasonably ask the Society to pay their wages, railway expenses, and find them with refreshments for attending meetings of a 'Representative Council'".¹²³

That Greenwood recognised the fact that the dissent within the Society was merely empty rhetoric arising from a minority but able to exercise an influence disproportionate to its size is evident from the strong contrast he drew between his members and those of other 'New Model' Unions

"The members of our Society are not so well educated or so intelligent, on account of which they are more liable to prejudice and other wrong influences. A greater proportion of prejudice arises out of a limited circle and comparatively small numbers which

afford more facilities for criticism and circulating erroneous impressions. There is also less attention to Rules and a want of system in transacting Society's business".¹²⁴

Greenwood's expressed hope

"that good results may follow"

was, in vain however, for the following quarter controversy was renewed concerning the right of the Council to amend the Superannuation Rule when again, the wider experience of the leaders of the A.S.E. and the Flint Glass Makers was invoked to support the Council's action.¹²⁵ In July 1875, instances were given of branches disregarding Society Rules under rank and file pressure and Greenwood had to emphasize that a branch secretary

"..... has not the right to choose as to which rules he will enforce and which he will not enforce. This would be arbitrary indeed. Every member might claim the privilege to choose for himself which rules he would conform to and which he would set aside with equally as much right. And this would make an end of rules altogether and confusion would supercede organisation".¹²⁶

It was at this time that the plethora of personal animosity was directed at Greenwood when a proposition, having been carried by 27 votes by the 400 strong Castleford Branch, was sent to the Delegate Meeting stating

"Castleford Branch requests the Delegate Meeting to prohibit the Central Secretary opening out and remarking upon questions in the Quarterly Reports which have been decided by the respective branches".¹²⁷

The vote of censure was brought forward by a member who impeached the Central Secretary for writing the Address to members of July 1874. Despite Greenwood's claim that there were

"substantial grounds for believing that the proceedings were taken through personal feelings".¹²⁸

The division of the branch membership into 'primitive democrats' and 'New Model Centralists' is clearly evident in the Resolution attacking

the Central Secretary and the amendment designed to defend him.¹²⁹ It was significant, however, that when the case was examined by the Appeals Committee at Greenwood's behest, the Castleford Branch declined to formally appoint a representative and the charge against him was brought solely by the Delegate who had originally preferred it, together with another member who had assisted in passing the vote of censure. Greenwood, drawing evidence from Society Rules and Resolutions and from similar articles in the journals of Unions easily routed his critics. Subsequently, at a referred Delegate Meeting, he won approval for his action together with the unanimous expression of confidence from the Delegates and the expressed hope that support and encouragement given by the Delegates was an indication of how far the representatives of the branches were committed in their support of central government. This suggests that opposition within the branches was confined to a vocal minority, although it may be significant that a resolution framed and supported by six Delegates

"That this question be sent to the members for vote as to whether the Central Secretary shall discuss in the Report questions which have been decided on by the Branches" was rejected.¹³⁰ Greenwood had no doubt that the vote of censure arose in consequence of his defence of the

"Council and himself against improper attacks and slanders", together with the fact that the enquiry into the misconduct of the Swinton Branch (cf infra) had recently

"taken place to provoke a hostile feeling".¹³¹ Nevertheless, there are clear indications of a degree of hostility towards central government over a considerable period of time which found substantial support on occasion as rank and file rejection of Executive proposals indicate.¹³² Greenwood's Address, in June 1876, reveals many complaints by rank and file members who, however misguidedly, felt themselves to be under the yoke of Rules applied by the Central Secretary on behalf of the Executive.¹³³ Fuel was added to the fire when, in October 1878, Greenwood and Martin Waters were delegated by the Council to attend the Paris Exhibition in order to produce a report for the trade.¹³⁴ Elements of the membership interpreted the trip as a 'reward' for service to the cause of centralism similar to the grant of £20 made to Greenwood in early 1874 for extra work undertaken in connection with auditing branch accounts.¹³⁵ That Greenwood was an able and conscientious Central Secretary and

fully deserving a far greater salary than was paid to him is beyond dispute. That the members were reluctant to acknowledge the fact and suitably reward it, is less a recognition of his worth than a manifestation of society politics engendered by primitive democratic sentiment and expressed in hostility to the office of Central Secretary as the embodiment of centralised administration. The same reluctance which Matsumura noted in the case of the Flint Glass Makers was evident amongst the Glass Bottle Makers for the same reason - the fear and suspicion that central bureaucracy would have an adverse effect on the primitive democracy beloved of the rank and file. Such a view explains the grudging increase in salary voted to Greenwood by the trade in 1873.¹³⁶ The financial restraint exercised by the members in the matter of the remuneration of the Central Secretary promoted the suspicion of 'compensatory payments' being made by the Council at the expense of members' disentitlement to benefit and out of withdrawn investments occasioned by the depression of trade and industrial disruption from 1876. As a result, Greenwood found it necessary to issue an Address to

"silence disaffected and slandering members as regards the object of withdrawing the Corporation investments, and where the money has gone".¹³⁷

The subject was reinforced by a subsequent Address calling attention to journeymen in arrear, which was

"an answer to grumblers who consider they are deprived of benefits which they ought to have".¹³⁸

For some time rumour had swept the trade that by appointing a deputation to the Paris Exhibition the Council had denied a voice to the membership and therefore exceeded its authority. It was rumoured that Castleford Branch intended to

"make the deputation refund the moneys expended".¹³⁹

The assertion of primitive democratic sentiment was accompanied by charges that the Council was

"misappropriating the Society's money in sending out a deputation"

while some referred to the action as

"robbing the Society".

Consequently, Castleford Branch impeached the Executive Council of having 'violated the Society's Rules and its constitution'. In a subsequent Address entitled 'A Chapter of Accidents: or the Unfortunate Council',¹⁴⁰ Greenwood answered allegations of misappropriation

by stating,

"This is an allegation which should not be allowed to pass unchallenged: and we take this opportunity of informing the members who indulge in such statements to come forward and establish them or else refrain from making them in future, because they are playing a dangerous game, and while they may think they have a license to say anything they like it is just possible that they may have an opportunity to repeat them in a place where they will not feel exceedingly comfortable".¹⁴¹

The challenge was accompanied by four pages of items of expenditure dating to 1865, all of which were not provided for by the Society Rules but paid without the authority of the trade. In this way, Greenwood showed the action of the Council to be constitutional and at the same time presented a case for reform of the Society's system of government with the replacement of Resolution by codified Rule, although as he stated,

"we have no confidence in convincing or converting our opponents that the action of the Council was constitutional and not contrary to the Rules of the Society".¹⁴²

Greenwood also belittled the clamour for a 'Representative Council', citing the inverse ratio of cost and result arising from the Delegate Meetings which as the manifestation of primitive democracy in the early years of the trade, ^{and} prior to the establishment of the 'New Model' Council, was the earlier equivalent of a 'Representative Council'.¹⁴³ In a retrospect of the year 1879, Greenwood, reviewing the expenses of £137 for Delegate Meetings, scathingly remarked

"It must have been an eventful year when such a sum as this has been expended for transacting business, by what is to all intents and purposes the 'Representative Council'".¹⁴⁴

It appears, however, that Greenwood's stern challenge had resulted in the abatement of criticism by the 'primitive democrats' for his retrospective stated that,

"the clamour for a 'Representative Council' seems to have died a natural death, and never would have had a premature birth had the members been governable and unbiassed".¹⁴⁵

adding,

"But it has only been allowed to die a natural death because there has been work for it to do. And there is still work enough for a 'Representative Council' if the advocates of one will only come to the front and do it".¹⁴⁶

However, by first illustrating, by comparative statistics, the inferiority of the representative Delegate Meeting to the Executive Council, Greenwood then proceeded to a review of the 'legacy' of adversity wrought by the exercise of

"membership suffrage and the popular vote which, since October 1876, has been most loud, amounting to 'a craze' which has been kept up until the experiments of the agitators have brought the Trade, i.e. the Society, to the brink of ruin.... and then, like every other 'craze' after it has done all the injury which it is capable of doing, it dies away....."¹⁴⁷

The criticism was not dead, however, only temporarily muted. Criticism was revived by the decision to suspend welfare benefits in the spring of 1880, a decision for which some regarded Greenwood as responsible. In a letter to Greenwood, dated 7th April 1880, his friend, Samuel Blackburn, wrote of the meeting of Thornhill Lees Branch at which the Branch Delegate communicated news of the cuts,

"..... two or three talked about you as if you were in league with those who have been instrumental in bringing about the transaction of last Saturday"¹⁴⁸

To this Greenwood replied

"I have been, and still am, a passive being, or servant, and therefore not a party to anything which has been done and yet it appears that I do come in for a good share of the blame..... It does seem a cruel part of my circumstances at least, that I should be blamed for that for which I am not guilty".¹⁴⁹

That such accusations were commonplace is suggested by a further letter sent about that time by a Branch Secretary who wrote

"There is something going on over here respecting the D.M. stopping the Life Pensions of some of the men, and some loud talk is indulged in of what they will show A.G. - who is the Boss in the matter".¹⁵⁰

The theme of 'collusion' was given further substance, however, when it was revealed that Greenwood, thrown out of work, early in 1879, had stated his intention to resign his office in order to take up a situation at Masbro, but had been persuaded against such a course by the Council. The Council had made Greenwood an offer of compensation until such time as he procured another job at Castleford. Castleford Branch took exception to the Council's decision and summoned the Council to a special meeting to account for its action. Following the Council's refusal to comply with Castleford's demand, the Branch demanded the matter be put to the trade vote, which the Council also rejected. The matter was referred to the Delegate Meeting, which although confirming and approving the action of the Council, showed considerable criticism, some of which indicated a deep-seated opposition to the very existence of the Council and reflects the strong endorsement of primitive democratic sentiment by some branches as expressed through their representatives.¹⁵¹

Castleford Branch hostility to the Council was such that it now passed a vote of censure on the Delegate Meeting of the 18th January 1880, which had upheld the Council's action. The Delegates' meeting on the 25th January 1880 had, therefore, to consider the motion of censure on themselves submitted by Castleford Branch.¹⁵² Faced with a self-condemnatory situation the Delegate Meeting adopted the resolution

"That this meeting accepts the vote of censure passed by Castleford Branch and that it considers it as a compliment".¹⁵³

Further discussion on the issue was then deferred until 'other important business is disposed of', after which the Meeting passed a resolution confirming the decision of the previous Delegate Meeting and by implication, reaffirming the role of the Council.¹⁵⁴ Nevertheless, of twenty-five votes cast, six Delegates cast dissident votes, an indication of the substantial element of disaffection with central government amongst the rank and file members whose views their nominated delegates represented. The influence of the 'primitive democrats' was considerable as is evident from the observation of Greenwood concerning Society affairs.

" But what shall I say as regards those Delegates who are responsible for passing measures upon which I look unfavourably, and especially those members in the various Branches who although not Delegates did even more damage than the Delegates themselves! Considering the results that have befallen the trade through the exercise of their suffrages, to say the least, it is a great pity that they have had a voice and vote in the administration of the Society's affairs at all. It would have been better for the Society and for those members themselves, and I am quite sure for myself personally, had they been on the other side of the globe, or in some other part of the world when some of the measures were adopted. Or it would have been better had they been disenfranchised or tongue-tied, and have had a 'dictator' who possessed the necessary abilities for carrying the Society over this long period of unprecedented depression without subjecting it to such results as those that have been brought about

.....

..... we presume the foregoing remark on members' suffrage will be highly objectional to certain members. If so, we shall anticipate the objection by stating that we do not write to please any section of members

....."155

Greenwood concluded with a fatalistic tone which implied that the onus for the future role of the Society rested upon the judgement of the general membership.

"If membership suffrage has elevated us as a class, by all means let it have 'free course and be glorified'".156

Despite the successful assertion of supremacy by the Council over the powerful Castleford Branch and therefore the entire trade, rumblings of dissatisfaction continued to be directed at the Central Secretary.

In January 1881, Greenwood, at the instigation of the Council was compelled to reissue the threat of legal proceedings against 'libellous charges and insinuations', emanating from some members who alleged he had 'sold the workmen, i.e. the trade'. One un-named person in particular was the perpetrator of such allegations claiming that Greenwood was

"a liar, a thief, and a bloodsucker".¹⁵⁷

The firm line adopted by Greenwood, allied to the unchallenged supremacy of the Executive Council caused abatement of the overt criticism of centralism by the 'primitive democratic' element. After 1880 a new phase opened in trade and union affairs as a result of which the rank and file militancy which had previously characterised the opposition of many rank and file 'traditionalists' was to find new outlets for its expression.

(d) Membership.

The period 1860 to 1879 is characterised by a pattern of continuous growth in the membership of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society. Tabulated returns only date from late 1867¹⁵⁸ but reference to Roll Sheets enables membership statistics to be traced to 1862 when the Yorkshire Society was re-established following the collapse of the Amalgamated Society.¹⁵⁹

TABLE 7:6 MEMBERSHIP OF YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1861 - 1879

YEAR	MEMBERS AT YEAR END
1861	332
2	325
3	396
4	598
5	613
6	690
7	692
8	720
9	759
1870	792
1	792
2	878
3	954
4	1018
5	1058
6	1120
7	1137
8	1150
9	1149

Sources: (i) Membership Rolls G.B.M. Society 1861-65
Reprinted G.B.M. Reports Volume IX pp 336-86
(ii) Quarterly Returns G.B.M. Reports 1869-79
passim.

Table 7:6 shows that the ten districts of the Yorkshire bottle trade consisted of 325 members in 1862 and that an increase in excess of 52% occurred within the next four years as the natural influx of artisans into the County trade was supplemented by the rigorous empressment of apprentice members. (cf Chapter 8 (a) *infra*).

With a significant leap occurring in 1864, when over 200 new members were enrolled, representing an increase of 66%, the years 1865 to 1870 saw membership increase by a further 77%, no doubt as a result of greater efficiency arising from centralised administration. After remaining stable at 792 in the years 1870-71,¹⁶⁰ the advent of prosperous trade enabled the union to enforce membership on the entire artisan work force and the success of this measure was summarised by Alfred Greenwood's retrospective comment that

"There has not been any other trade in which the organisation has been so near completion. The rule has been that every working man at the trade has been a member of the Society. Even if there were those who were not trade unionists, they had to pay the contributions and levies if they worked, or cease working and make room for those who would pay".¹⁶¹

When moral persuasion was unsuccessful, compulsion was used.¹⁶² Consequently, substantial increases took place in each year between 1872-1876 and although the rate of increase slowed after the latter date, it was not until 1880 that the effect of worsening trade conditions and industrial relations marked an appreciable decline in Society membership.

The rising pattern of membership is discernable within the ranks of the Flint Glass Makers during the period 1853-1878, both at national level and within the Yorkshire districts of the trade.¹⁶³

Table 7:7 shows that between 1853 and 1860, Yorkshire members comprised between 8% and 10% of the national membership, during which time those engaged within the Yorkshire district rose in number from 86 to 171. Throughout the following decade the percentage of the Society's total membership employed within the County fluctuated between 17.5% and 12.6%, with the actual number increasing to 208 by 1870. By the early 1870s, flint glass manufacture in Yorkshire factories was increasingly geared to the production of small bottles and containers

TABLE 7:7 SHOWING NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF FLINT GLASS MAKERS'
SOCIETY AND YORKSHIRE DISTRICT MEMBERSHIP 1852 - 1879

YEAR	NATIONAL MEMBERS (A)	YORKSHIRE MEMBERS (B) -	$\frac{(B)}{(A)} \times 100$
1852	919	-	-
3	1013	86	8.4
4	989	96	9.7
5	897	93	10.3
6	1086	95	8.7
7	1228	106	8.6
8	1294	130	10.0
9	1286	127	9.8
1860	1355	171	12.6
1	1343	163	12.1
2	1383	154	11.7
3	1485	178	11.9
4	1590	189	11.8
5	1606	188	11.7
6	1668	201	12.0
7	1693	213	12.5
8	1692	203	11.9
9	1722	213	12.3
1870	1776	210	11.9
1	1790	213	11.8
2	1893	223	11.7
3	1894	234	12.3
4	1933	249	12.8
5	2005	279	13.9
6	2094	301	14.3
7	2097	291	13.8
8	2040	299	14.6
9	2014	291	14.4

Source: F.G.M.M. 1852 - 1879, passim

and by 1879 when the Yorkshire element represented 14.4% of Society membership, some 293 flint hands being organised within the County trade.¹⁶⁴

The expansion of the glass bottle trade is also evident by reference to Table 7:8 which shows the increase in the number of branches forming the districts of the G.B.M. Society. In 1860 the Glass Bottle Makers' Society had 8 districts and by 1869 the number was 10, despite the fact that York was irrecoverably lost to the Society the previous year. The loss was offset by the establishment of new branches, particularly in South Yorkshire, so that by 1875, 12 districts were in existence. In 1860, Castleford Branch with 157 members comprised 45% of the total membership of the Society, all other branches, except Hunslet which had 59 members, having less than a third of the Castleford numbers. Castleford's proportion of members remained at 45% in 1870, rising to 47.7% by 1871, and then declining to 42% by the end of the decade.¹⁶⁶ The decade 1860-69 was one of slow membership growth for the most part, with only three districts, Castleford (47.5%), Thornhill Lees (40.9%) and Swinton (38.5%) showing a substantial increase and Hunslet, strife-torn during the early years of the decade, actually declining in membership. Throughout the following decade Castleford membership rose by 73.2% and that of Swinton by 67.1% and these two branches, together with Thornhill Lees, whose membership remained relatively stable until 1878 but was adversely affected by the trade dispute by 1879, were the only branches to record over one hundred members. Nevertheless, considerable membership increases occurred in several branches during the period 1870 - 1879. The most notable increases occurred in the Hunslet and Barnsley districts where respective increases of 44.2% and 73.2% reflected the 'conversion' of traditional centres of flint glass ware to bottle manufacture.¹⁶⁷ Other branches with expanding membership were Wakefield with 60.7% and Ferrybridge where a 32.8% increase reflected the considerable growth within the Castleford district to which it was attached, while at Stairfoot, which was only established in 1875, an increase of one third, from 26 to 78 members, took place within two years. For the majority of branches the most significant increase in membership took place with the onset of the trade boom in 1873, although the expansion at Castleford preceded the others by a space of 12 months, underlining the predominance of the district within the trade.

TABLE 7:8

TABLE 7:8 MEMBERSHIP OF INDIVIDUAL BRANCHES OF THE G.B.M. SOCIETY 1867 - 1879

BRANCH	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879
Castleford	301	303	330	362	378	420	407	409	439	438	445	480	494
Swinton	96	80	83	104	110	115	124	98	115	135	144	149(a)	155
Hunslet	72	57	54	42	29	32	80	82	75	90	89	94	95
Thornhill Lees	97	117	105	104	101	103	105	108	111	110	101	96	79
York	6	1											
Ferrybridge	25	27	26	25	14	37	54	64	65	66	67	76	76
Wakefield	17	21	24	34	35	32	26	37	39	53	51	50	51
Barnsley	20	24	42	41	39	40	62	76	59	64	70	61	56
Conisbro'	39	45	58	64	70	62	56	67	65	44	21		
Masbro'	19	30	22						36	34	31	35	36
Kilnhurst	15	15	15	16	16	15	15	14	15	15	14	14	14
Wombwell					22	22	25	25	15	28	26		
Stairfoot									26	43	78	95	96
TOTALS	692	720	759	792	792	878	954	1018	1158	1120	1137	1150	1149

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867 - 1879: Quarterly Branch Returns.
(a) Swinton total includes Conisbro branch members.

Table 7:9 indicates the expanding membership pattern within the individual branches of the Yorkshire District of the Flint Glass Makers' Society from 1852. Yorkshire district representation increased from 4 during the 1850s to 5 by 1861 and rising from 5 to 8 between 1871 and 1875, largely in consequence of the expansion in container manufacture during the early 1870s. In terms of district membership two patterns are discernable. Districts long established as seats of traditional flint glass manufacture such as Rotherham, Catcliffe and York provide evidence of steady but unspectacular growth prior to 1860 at which point Rotherham witnessed an increase of 52.3% followed by a period of stability before a significant decline by 1875 as the growing threat of foreign competition hit the flint glass trade, forcing manufacturers to have greater recourse to bottle and container production. Rotherham vividly illustrates the effect of this development on union membership where the decline in membership of the Flint Glass Society was accompanied by the revival of Masbro Branch after an interval of four years as an independent branch of the Bottle Hands Society, with a considerably increased membership which remained stable right to the end of the decade. At York, the dramatic growth in membership among flint hands occurred between 1870-75 and, unlike Rotherham, was sustained until the decade end, probably in consequence of the greater commitment to container manufacture which meant that the district benefited from the 'bottle boom' of the early 70s and was less affected by the advent of foreign competition within the sphere of flint glass production. Smaller branches, such as Worsbrodale and Catcliffe, under increasing trade pressure, experienced a hiatus before ceasing production, although in the case of the latter branch a revival occurred by 1872 as rising trade assisted bottle production. The adaptation to flint bottle manufacture is evident in the traditional centres of flint glass manufacture of Hunslet and Barnsley, both of which revealed a significant increase in membership during the 1870s. The figures, together with those of Castleford district, do not so obviously reveal the fact that the establishment of flint bottle houses at some branches within these districts was undertaken at the expense of the closure of houses previously worked by members of the rival Bottle Hands Society. Thus the years 1873 to 1876 saw a slowing down in membership of the Society of Yorkshire Bottle Hands at Castleford, with minimal growth in the years 1874 and 1876,¹⁶⁸ while the Hunslet and Barnsley districts experienced a temporary decline in the middle years of the decade.

TABLE 7:9

TABLE 7:9 INDIVIDUAL BRANCH MEMBERSHIP OF FLINT GLASS MAKERS' SOCIETY, YORKSHIRE DISTRICT, 1854-1879

BRANCH	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866
Barnsley													
Castleford													
Hunslet						29	31	39	27	37	52	40	51
Kilnhurst													
Rotherham	29	34	22	39	43	44	65	61	55	74	61	60	60
York	38	37	41	41	55	34	43	41	51	43	52	55	57
Catcliffe	17	11	12	14	14	15	10						
Swinton													
			11	10									
Worsbrodale	12	11	9	12	13	20	22	14	13	12	12	11	11
TOTALS	96	93	106	116	125	142	171	163	164	174	189	182	201

Source: F.G.M.M. Quarterly Branch Returns, 1854-1879, passim

TABLE 7:9 INDIVIDUAL BRANCH MEMBERSHIP OF THE FLINT GLASS MAKERS' SOCIETY, YORKSHIRE DISTRICT,
1854-1879 continued:

BRANCH	1867	1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876	1877	1878	1879
Barnsley									16	34	36	36	38
Castleford								14	16	15	40	37	30
Hunslet	58	43	50	50	50	59	65	59	79	75	56	60	56
Kilnhurst	22	22	16	19	20	19	14	15	13	14	13	12	14
Rotherham	65	68	68	68	68	61	61	56	55	54	45	52	48
York	57	58	55	60	61	60	60	69	81	86	79	78	80
Catcliffe						10	10	9	10	10	10	10	10
Swinton													
Worsbrodale	11	12	12	13	14	14	15	17					
Knottingley							9	10	9	13	12	14	15
TOTALS	213	203	207	210	213	223	234	304	279	301	291	299	291

Source: F.G.M.M., Quarterly Branch Returns, 1854-1879, passim

Of what type of man was each Society composed? In general terms the answer is easy to define. The 1858 Rules of the Flint Glass Makers' Society stated that membership was open to all who had served an apprenticeship and were employed in flint glassmaking, being proposed and seconded by two Society members and upon payment of a stipulated entrance fee.¹⁶⁹ No apprentice was allowed to join the Society unless within one year of apprenticeship completion and having paid one year's full contributions. Thus, despite the token acceptance of apprentices, the Flint Hands' Society was effectively one of journeyman status.¹⁷⁰ Membership of the Yorkshire Bottle Makers' Society did not exclude apprentices, although none were accepted until 18 years of age and then only having attained the trade status of gatherer.¹⁷¹ Indig^enous workers were not required to pay an entrance fee to the Yorkshire Society although journeymen from bottle making regions other than Lancashire were required to pay £1-10-0 and wait six months before benefit entitlement.¹⁷² The influx of 'foreign' artisans into the County resulted in alteration of The Rule in 1865. In order to recruit the maximum number of artisans the entrance fee was reduced to £1 to be paid if necessary over a period of four weeks,¹⁷³ while any apprentice failing to join the Society by his twenty-first year was called upon to pay £5 or be excluded from the trade.¹⁷⁴ Membership of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society reflected a degree of artisan status which in its economic aspects went far beyond the members' ability to afford the weekly contribution of one shilling.

Table 7:10 shows that between 1864-1880, no less than six financial levies were imposed upon journeymen members holding regular situations. The levies were applied throughout the entire period excepting only the years 1865 and '74-'75, and were imposed for the purpose of ensuring adequate financial provision for Society benefits or in order to raise additional funds for trade disputes directly or indirectly involving the Society (cf Appendix 'A'). The size of the levy varied according to the circumstance which occasioned its application, from as much as an extra shilling per quarter to subsidise Widows' Benefit, in September 1867, to an additional six shillings per quarter in March 1868, at which time the total journeyman contribution was £1-18-0d. Levies were frequently applied to run in parallel. In the aforementioned quarter for instance, two levies were in operation. Again, during the four quarters, December 1867 - May 1880, at a time of high unemployment, consequent upon the Lock-Out at Thornhill Lees and Conisbro, members were called upon to pay twin levies, and in

TABLE 7:10 PAYMENTS BY JOURNEYMAN MEMBERS G.B.M. SOCIETY DURING VARIOUS PERIODS, 1864 - 1880

QUARTERS	FOR KEY C.F. APPENDIX 'A'																					TOTAL PAYMENTS REQUIRED			
	BASIC CONTRI- BUTION			A			B			C			D			E			F						
	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d	
16th APRIL 1864	12	0																					12	0	
29th OCT 1866	12	0		2	0																		14	0	
21st JAN 1867	12	0		2	0																		14	0	
30th SEPT 1867	12	0		1	0																		13	0	
23rd DEC 1867	12	0					14	0														1	6	0	
16th MARCH 1868	12	0		2	0		1	4	0													1	18	0	
8th JUNE 1868	12	0					1	4	0													1	16	0	
31st AUG 1868	12	0					1	4	0													1	16	0	
23rd NOV 1868	12	0		1	0																		13	0	
2nd AUG 1868	12	2		1	0																		13	2	
4th JULY 1870	12	2		2	0																		14	2	
19th DEC 1870	12	2		3	0																		15	2	
5th JUNE 1871	12	2		2	0																		14	2	
28th AUG 1871	12	2		2	0																		14	2	
12th FEB 1872	12	2		1	0																		13	2	
6th MAY 1872	12	2		1	0					4	0												17	2	
29th JULY 1872	12	2								4	0												16	2	
21st OCT 1872	12	2		1	0					4	0												17	2	
13th JAN 1873	12	2		2	0					4	0												18	2	
7th APRIL 1873	12	2								4	0												16	2	
18th SEPT 1876	12	2											16	0								1	8	2	
11th DEC 1876	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
5th MARCH 1877	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
28th MAY 1877	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
20th AUG 1877	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
12th NOV 1877	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
4th FEB 1878	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
29th APRIL 1878	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
22nd JULY 1878	12	2											1	4	0								1	16	2
14th OCT 1878	12	2											16	0									1	8	2
6th JAN 1879	12	2											12	0									1	4	2
31st MARCH 1879	12	2											12	0									1	4	2
23rd JUNE 1879	12	2											12	0									1	4	2
15th SEPT 1879	12	2											12	0		6	0						1	10	2
8th DEC 1879	12	2											12	0		6	0						1	10	2
1st MARCH 1880	12	2											12	0		6	0						1	10	2
24th MAY 1880	12	2											12	0		6	0		6	0			1	16	2
16th AUG 1880	12	2											12	0					4	0			1	8	2
8th NOV 1880	12	2											12	0									1	4	2
TOTALS	25	5	0	1	3	0	4	6	0	1	0	0	16	12	0	1	4	0	10	0		51	0	0	

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Colume VII, 1879 - 80. Frontispiece, *passim*.

the May quarter, triple levies, one of six shillings being to subsidise Scottish bottlemakers in their trade dispute. During the period 1864-1880, additional per capita contributions amounted to £24-15-0d, which added to the regular quarterly contributions of £44-4-4d for the entire period totals £68-19-4d per member. The ability to meet such stringent financial demands, particularly in time of adverse trade conditions is matched only in magnitude by the willingness to do so, revealing a high degree of selflessness within the fraternity and a clear indication of the economic status of the artisan glassmakers and their determination to ensure the maintenance of the social status which was its consubstantial manifestation.

The precise nature of the membership of each union expressed in terms of trade status is almost indefinable. The Glass Bottle Makers' Reports made no distinction other than that of apprentice and journeyman members. The Flint Glass Makers undertook a national survey in 1857 which indicated a diminishing degree of organisation as chair status diminished.¹⁷⁵ The survey was undertaken at a time when few Yorkshire flint hands were engaged in container production. In addition two Yorkshire districts, Catcliffe and Hunslet, failed to supply details concerning numbers employed, thus making the survey even less relevant. All that may be deduced from the fragmentary data sources concerning Society' membership is that in general terms both sets of artisan glassmakers were well organized. Within the more widely dispersed districts of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, regional variations in trade and working conditions affected the degree of organisation of the three Yorkshire branches for whom statistics are available in 1857, Worsbrodale recorded 100% membership; Rotherham 89.4% and York only 45.3%, giving 66.9% membership overall compared to the national figure of 71.0%.¹⁷⁶ The trade boom of the 1870s engendered the mushroom growth of a myriad small units of production in which unrestricted apprentice labour and non-union journeymen were employed¹⁷⁷ unsettling the trade and retarding membership of the Society. The geographical compactness of the Bottle Makers' Society made it less prone to the variable conditions of trade and at the same time easier for its central executive to administer control. By 1870, the recruitment policies of the Society had ensured an almost monolithic organisation which, with the introduction of uniform numbers and wage rates in 1872, resulted in 96.1% of the Yorkshire bottle hands being members of Society.¹⁷⁸ Between 1873 and 1876 the Yorkshire Society were able to establish and maintain a closed shop

situation within their trade. Comparatively high levels of union organisation existing within the other bottle manufacturing regions (cf Table 7:11 infra) helped indirectly to maintain union control of the trade in the Yorkshire region by 'conditioning' immigrants to the ideals of trade unionism and engendering both the expectancy and acceptance of union organisation upon entry into the County trade. In addition to the special agreement with the Lancashire District concerning mutual acceptance with the Yorkshire Society by observance of the 32nd Rule,¹⁷⁹ extended membership to artisans leaving the County, or withdrawing from the trade, thus perpetuating the concept of fraternity which was the basis of trade union power. Nevertheless, the numerical strength of the Society varied from branch to branch in accordance with local conditions.

Table 7:12 shows that of the eight Society districts in late 1872 only Castleford, Ferrybridge and Conisbro had 100% organisation. Thornhill Lees with 99% had almost attained complete unity, while Swinton and Wakefield had a high degree of organisation. Hunslet, with a reputation for non-observance of union ideals during the previous decade,¹⁸⁰ and still influenced by the number of 'black rat' shops in an area predominantly associated with the flint glass trade, lagged far behind with a membership of 66.6%. The Society had no members at York where bottle production was undertaken by members belonging to the Flint Glass Makers' Society.¹⁸¹ The position of Hunslet branch within the Bottle Makers' Society may be equated with that of the North of England in the context of the regional societies as a source of potential weakness. It was from the latter source that labour was brought to break the union monopoly within Yorkshire district in 1876, although paradoxically it was in the two strongly organised branches of Thornhill Lees and Conisbro that non-union labour was introduced (cf Chapter 4 re industrial relations supra).

(e) Financial Structure.

The organisation of a sound financial system was fundamental to the power each of the glassmakers' societies was able to exercise. A prerequisite for the effective exercise of such power was the reformation of the old system of union whereby each district of a particular Union retained individual control of its own funds. Such a system of financial independence was at the heart of local autonomy, resulting in the lack of cohesion essential for united action.

TABLE 7:11 COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP OF REGIONAL G.B.Ms' SOCIETIES, 1872

BOTTLEMAKING REGIONS	NUMBER EMPLOYED		NO OUT OF	(A)	NUMBER OF MEMBERS		(B)	% $\frac{(A)}{(B)} \times 100$
	APPS	J/MEN			APPS	J/MEN		
YORKSHIRE	214	689	10	913	156	722	878	96.1
LANCASHIRE	66	168	12	246	67	173	240	97.5
NORTH OF ENGLAND	138	504	165	807	NONE	450	450	55.7
BLAYDON ON TYNE	13	35	10	58	4	38	42	72.4
DUBLIN	12	78	5	95	21	68	89	93.6
GLASGOW	55	173	21	249	50	208	258	-
PORTOBELLO	17	63	-	80	18	62	80	-
ALLOA	7	18	-	25	3	20	23	-
BRISTOL	11	37	-	48	12	42	54	-
BRIERLEY HILL	5	11	-	16	5	11	16	-
TOTALS	538	1176	223	2537	336	1794	2130	-

Source: G.B.M. Society Reports, Volume IV, p 408, Table II. (a) The table shows 20 men out of work in the Yorkshire District but the Quarterly Branch Returns, op cit, p408, reveal only 10 unemployed Society members. (b) The imbalance is probably due to nominal members of Glasgow District who had withdrawn from the Trade.

TABLE 7:12 NUMBER OF APPRENTICES AND JOURNEYMEN IN EACH BRANCH OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.Ms. ' SOCIETY,
DECEMBER 1872

DISTRICT	BRANCH	NUMBER WORKING	NUMBER UNEMPLOYED	(A) TOTAL	(B) MEMBERS of SOCIETY	% $\frac{(A)}{(B)} \times 100$
Castleford	Castleford	381	6	387	420	100.0
	Swinton	39				
	Mexbro	63		132	115	87.1
	Masbro	30				
Hunslet	Hunslet	48		48	32	66.6
Thornhill Lees	Thornhill Lees	102	2	104	103	99.0
Ferrybridge	Ferrybridge	24				
	Knottingley	12		36	37	100.0
Wakefield	Wakefield	36		36	32	88.8
Barnsley	Barnsley	24	2			
	Ardsley	15		62	61	96.7
	Wombwell	21				
	Conisbro	60		75	78	100.0
Conisbro	Kilnhurst	15				
	York	33		33	0	0.0
TOTALS		903	10	913	878	96.1

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 408. (N.B) The seeming disparity between the total workforce and total branch membership at Castleford, Ferrybridge and Barnsley may be accounted for by members under the 32nd Rule (i.e. withdrawn from the trade, and working in other districts).

William Gillinder, Central Secretary of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, appreciated the necessity for a centralised financial system as the basis of centralised government and in 1852 introduced a unified accounting system throughout each district of the Society, publishing the Society's accounts in the Magazine each quarter so that the membership was made aware of the Society's financial situation. The result was a triumph for New Model Unionism, for within the space of a year, Gillinder had transformed the financial position from one of insolvency to a surplus in excess of £1,000.¹⁸² Gillinder's success not only ensured the transformation of the Flint Glass Makers' Society from one of a loose federation of districts with a token unity based on practical dispensation of tramp relief, but established confidence among his members which was essential for the acceptance of a strong centralised system of government. The pattern of financial reconstruction was followed just over a decade later by the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers who, although retaining a system of tramp relief until 1880, and a regional (i.e. County based) administrative system, nevertheless regarded the espousal of New Model Unionism with centralised government based on a foundation of fiscal security as a necessary adjunct to union power.

Table 7:13 reveals that by 1854 the assets of the Flint Glass Makers' Society were well in excess of £2,800 and although a period of dull trade caused some diminishment in the middle years of the decade, a substantial increase occurred immediately afterwards and by 1858 when the Great Strike and Lock-Out threatened the finances of the Society, the sum of £3,376 had been accumulated.¹⁸³ From 1860 to 1879 an annual increase occurred,¹⁸⁴ rising to a peak of £12,263 before the effects of domestic recession and foreign competition occasioned a decline, particularly in the years 1878 and 1879. Despite the fact that the Glass Bottle Makers' Society lacked a uniform system of book-keeping before 1868¹⁸⁵ its assets were considerable, rising from £5189 at the end of 1867 in an uninterrupted annual sequence, to £18,461 a decade later. Like its flint glass counterpart, the funds of the Society fell in the closing years of the decade as a result of trade disruption. A dramatic decline occurred in 1879, to £10,542, being only marginally better than the position in 1872 which had marked the advent of the Society's power and prosperity.

The accumulation of central funds became a status symbol for both Societies. The Flint Glass Makers frequently made direct comparison

TABLE 7:13

TABLE 7:13 TOTAL AND PER CAPITA ASSETS OF F.G.M. SOCIETY,
1852 - 1879

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	ASSETS			PER CAPITA		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
1852	919	221	10	4½	4	10	
3	1013	1553	0	0	1	10	8
4	989	2831	0	3	2	17	3
5	897	2200	0	0	2	9	0¾
6	1086	1938	5	10	1	15	8½
7	1228	3200	17	5	2	12	1½
8	1294	3376	11	7	2	12	2¼
9	1286	2362	9	5½	1	16	9
1860	1355	3742	3	8	2	15	2½
1	1343	3311	0	7½	2	9	4
2	1383	3384	0	0	2	8	11¼
3	1485	4082	18	9½	2	14	11¾
4	1590	5443	1	3½	3	8	5½
5	1606	7101	17	4	4	8	5½
6	1668	8893	16	9	5	6	7¾
7	1693	9012	10	9½	5	6	5½
8	1692	9177	14	2½	5	8	5¾
9	1722	8999	12	10	5	4	6¼
1870	1776	8961	13	8	5	0	11
1	1790	9201	16	7	5	2	9¾
2	1893	10561	19	4	5	11	7
3	1894	11727	15	5½	6	3	10
4	1933	11018	2	2½	5	14	0
5	2005	11479	6	9½	5	14	6
6	2094	12263	16	7	5	17	1½
7	2079	11025	1	8	5	6	0¾
8	2040	7403	10	4	3	12	7
9	2014	5401	8	7½	2	13	7¾

Source: F.G.M.M. Quarterly Accounts
1852 - 1879 passim

with the funds of the A.S.E., sometimes erroneously¹⁸⁶ for on two occasions only during the period 1852 - 1862 did the balance in hand per member at the year-end favour the flint hands, although for 12 consecutive years from 1863 the per capita balance of the glassmakers was higher.¹⁸⁷ In July 1866, Alexander Campbell, drawing an inference as a result of financial comparison with the A.S.E., stated that the Flint Glass Makers' Society was

"the best organisation of working men
in the three kingdoms."¹⁸⁸

The financial position of the Glass Bottle Makers at that time allows comparison with their Society and that of the Flint Glass Makers. A per capita balance of £7-12-1d compared to the Flint Glass Makers £5-6-4d, denies Campbell's proud assertion.¹⁸⁹ Likewise, the claim by Central Secretary, T. J. Wilkinson, in August 1869, that the sum of almost £6 per member

".....shows that we rank as the richest trade
Society in Great Britain"¹⁹⁰

is refuted on a per capita basis by the fact that the recently elected Central Secretary of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society had reported to his members a few weeks before

"The total balance of the Society is now
£6,333-15-5d, or £8-11-10½d per member.
This, I believe to be the highest average
of any Trade Society in this country
....."¹⁹¹

TABLE 7:14 TOTAL AND PER CAPITA ASSETS OF YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY,
1867 - 1879.

YEAR	NUMBER OF MEMBERS	ASSETS			PER CAPITA		
		£.	s	d	£	s	d
1867	692	5189	15	11	7	9	1
8	720	5839	19	3	8	2	2
9	759	7210	0	0½	9	9	11
1870	792	8088	4	7	10	4	3
1	792	9209	6	11	10	7	3½
2	878	10144	10	3½	11	11	1
3	954	11811	15	5	12	7	7½
4	1018	13471	18	7	13	4	8
5	1058	15474	7	9	14	12	6½
6	1120	16616	16	3	14	16	8½
7	1137	18461	9	11	16	4	8
8	1150	16399	13	6½	14	5	2½
9	1149	10542	9	2	9	3	6

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 457

Table 7:13 shows, however, that while in terms of amount overall the funds of the Flint Glass Makers exceeded those of the Yorkshire Bottle Makers before 1871, the latter year saw the Yorkshire Society, with a membership of only 44.2% of its nationally based rival, marginally eclipse the annual balance of the Flint Glass Makers' Society and from 1873 onward, leave it far behind. In 1876, when the assets of the Flint Hands reached a peak of £12,263-16-7d, those of the Bottle Hands were in excess of £16,616 and were still on the increase. The inevitable conclusion must, therefore, be that although the Flint Glass Makers could be justly proud of their financial status, their pride was somewhat misplaced, their financial position being inferior to that of the Glass Bottle Makers whose Society on a per capita basis was by 1867, if not earlier, the richest trade Society in Great Britain. By the late 1870s the funds of the A.S.E. and the A.S.C.J. had overtaken, per capita, those of the Flint Glass Makers, although all three remained vastly inferior to the per capita balance of the Glass Bottle Makers.¹⁹² With the surpassing of their funds by those of other Societies, the Flint Glass Makers desisted in their claims of financial supremacy, although the effect of declining trade must, of necessity, have resulted in the eventual cessation of the practice.

The accumulation of such considerable sums of money posed problems concerning security. The steps taken to provide adequate protection for Society funds is clearly revealed by reference to the various Codes of Rules of the Glass Bottle Makers. The 1843 Code deemed it sufficient for the outgoing President and Stewards to provide "a full and particular account" for their successors in office.¹⁹³ The evolution of a strict autonomy during the following decade rendered the safeguarding of Society funds more complex and by the mid 1850s the Rules contained provision for regular auditing of the accounts, with the imposition of severe fines and recourse to legal prosecution in cases of embezzlement.¹⁹⁴ By 1862, the Rules stipulated that the surplus money of each district was to be deposited in the bank in the names of three trustees chosen at the quarterly meeting of the district¹⁹⁵ while recourse to law, in the event of embezzlement or misappropriation, was retained.¹⁹⁶ The efforts of the Flint Glass Makers to ensure protection of their funds had undergone a similar process of transformation and by the 1860s the system of banking surplus district funds in the names of three trustees was utilised. To minimise the possibility of any malpractice the bank book was required to be produced at each district meeting and also at the General Conference of the Society.

In addition, when the surplus funds of any district exceeded £1,000 the sum was to be banked in the names of six trustees. The six trustees and the locality in which the funds were to be deposited was open to nomination by all the districts and selection was made by means of a vote of the membership.¹⁹⁷ Clearly, the wide dispersal of the districts forming the Flint Glass Makers' Society meant that members worthy of trusteeship were generally less well identified than was the case with the more geographically compact Yorkshire Society in which artisans of repute were, for the most part, known to the rank and file through service as Delegates or Councilmen.¹⁹⁸ What appears superficially as a more democratic exercise of choice among Flint hands was in reality a practical necessity to allay suspicion, promote confidence in the Society's elected representatives and ensure maximum cohesion between the members and officers of the Society. The publication of itemised accounts within the pages of the quarterly journals of both Societies was a further means by which the members were acquainted with the financial condition of their Union and by which suspicion of fiscal malpractice was allayed. Despite the establishment of a Central Office in 1865, the district committees of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society continued to exercise financial autonomy with each district contributing towards Central Office expenditure in proportion to its membership roll. No uniform system of accountancy existed and the ad hoc nature of financial administration was made worse by the casual attitude of some branch officials for whom the arduous labour of their full-time occupation left little time for energy for unrenumerative union duties.¹⁹⁹ Consequently, as the size and number of union branches increased, resulting in the accumulation of considerable sums of money, so did the potential for financial abuse. The extent of the financial growth within each district may be judged by reference to Table 7:15 showing comparison of Branch funds in 1867 and 1873. In 1867, only the three largest districts of the Bottle Makers' Society held bank accounts.²⁰⁰ Of these, only Castleford, which held 48% of the Society's wealth, had in excess of £1,000. Thornhill Lees, with £854, and Swinton with a little less than £1,000 were the others, although in the case of the latter, the funds were supplemented by those of five sub-branches which formed the Swinton District. By 1873, the same three branches remained predominant with Castleford's fund of £6,109 increased by 39.8%, being more than 54% of the Society total. Thornhill Lees branch funds had risen in excess of 48% to £1,754 and Swinton's, although consisting of only two

TABLE 7:15 COMPARISON OF FUNDS HELD BY BRANCHES OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY 1867 AND 1873 (a)

DISTRICT/BRANCH	1868			1873		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
Castleford	2433	19	7½	6109	3	2
Ferrybridge	13	19	10	27	19	9
Wakefield	7	15	6	18	10	5
Hunslet	493	4	11	347	19	2½
Thornhill Lees	854	2	6	1754	2	3
Swinton	995	16	10½	2775	14	10
)						
Mexbro				40	12	4½
)						
Masbro						
)						
)						
)						
Conisbro						
)						
Barnsley						
)						
Kilnhurst						
)						
)						
York	125	8	9			
Wombwell				17	14	5
TOTALS	5051	2	0	11132	1	11

Sources: (1) G.B.M. Society Reports, Volume I, p 23
(11) G.B.M. Society Report, Volume IV, p 126.

(a) The dates represent the first quarter for which branch statistics are available and the last quarter before equalisation of funds to facilitate establishment of General Investment Fund.

sub-branches by this date²⁰¹ increased to £2775, a rise of almost 36%.

At a time when the funds of each Society were reaching unprecedented levels, misappropriations occurred. In July 1872, the Secretary of the Wakefield Branch left the branch improperly, having caused a deficiency of £5-12s by gambling with the branch funds.²⁰² Worse was to follow, for in October 1872, it was discovered that T. Ezart, Secretary of the rich Swinton Branch, had embezzled a large sum of the Society's money and attempted to escape punishment by fleeing to America. Prompt action was taken, however, and Ezart was arrested on board a steamer about to leave Liverpool for America.²⁰³ Ezart was tried and found guilty of misappropriating £150 at Sheffield Sessions and sentenced to twelve months hard labour.²⁰⁴ The funds of the Flint Glass Makers' Society were also the subject of embezzlement when Joseph Rudge, the Central Secretary, stole about £564 in 1874 and this was followed by defalcations by two district secretaries of sums amounting to almost £230, two years later.²⁰⁵ In the Rudge case, the defence lawyer's strategy was to dispute the legality of the Union, contending that since the Society was not registered, it was merely an illegal partnership of members.²⁰⁶ The defence case although dismissed, went to the Court of Criminal Appeal at Westminster before confirming the light sentence of eight months imprisonment passed on Rudge. The subsequent case of the flight of William Thompson of Manchester District, following the embezzlement of £186 in September 1876, proved even less successful, for despite a hue and cry and the incentive of a reward for his apprehension, it would appear Thompson was never brought to justice. The effect of these cases was to make the executives of both Societies consider methods of safeguarding their funds. In 1876, the Manchester District, with the sanction of the vote of the entire membership, withdrew their banked funds and re-invested them with the Victoria Permanent Building Society at a prospective rate of 5% per annum.²⁰⁷ Further proposals to re-invest Society funds in commercial enterprises were thwarted by the onset of trade depression which resulted in a significant decrease in surplus funds through the increased demand for unemployment benefit.²⁰⁸ The financial reforms of the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire regarding their surplus funds were much more consequential than the measures adopted by the Flint Glass Makers. The basis of the reform was the establishment of a General Investment Fund under centralised control

in 1873.²⁰⁹ The scheme provided for the investment of the Society's money in sums of £1,000 with five Trustees nominated from the districts in proportion to the number of members, the Trustees being chosen by the Executive Council from the names submitted by district branches. The Council was to propose the sources of investment, the proposals being subjected to the Trade Vote. In addition, a Central Bank Account was established with the interest from General Fund investments being used to subsidise Central Office expenses.²¹⁰

The establishment of the General Fund marked the final and most crucial step in the reorganisation of the Bottle Makers' Society as a New Model Union. Apart from being essential to efficient government, the establishment of the General Fund was inevitable as surplus branch funds were placed at increased risk by carelessness arising from the inability or indifference of branch officials, or dishonesty aided by apathy, irresponsibility and even a measure of illiteracy among rank and file members.²¹¹ Financial mischance was not confined to shortcomings of an internal nature. The failure of the Western Bank, Glasgow, in late 1857, resulted in a loss to the Flint Glass Makers' Society of at least half the sum of £1,000 deposited there.²¹² On July 8th 1876, Castleford Branch of the Bottle Makers' Society had £811 in the Pontefract Branch of the Yorkshire Banking Company, having withdrawn £7,166 to deposit in the General Fund, when the Manager of the Bank was arrested on charges of embezzlement which it was claimed totalled £80,000 of depositors' money.²¹³ Some consideration had been given by a proportion of the Society members to the idea that Union Secretaries be required to commit themselves in a specific sum and furnish a bondsman for a further sum as a safeguard against embezzlement.²¹⁴ The fact that the possibility of such a measure merited serious consideration is clearly an indication of both financial and social status among the Glass Bottle Makers. The scheme was disregarded when it was realised that it was in the power of some Treasurers and Trustees to embezzle the Society's money on a larger scale than was possible by the Secretary.²¹⁵ A further safeguard for Society's funds, through registration with the Registrar of Friendly Societies, had been considered by the Executive Committee as early as 1867,²¹⁶ but such a step was never taken as the aim of the Rules Committee to produce a Code to replace government by Resolution never came to fruition. Nevertheless, possibility of adopting such a course remained close to the hearts of those seeking to fully implement the principles of New Model Unionism. At the time of the establishment

of the General Fund, Alfred Greenwood's Address to the Trade stated

"Assuming that we succeed in making all necessary investments according to the plan that we are now putting into operation, we shall still lack one principle, and that consists of Registration which will afford us facilities for prosecuting dishonest members in case there be such. I know that we have got convictions in the past, but when a Society is Registered there is not much danger of a Court refusing to hear a cause, whereas there is a danger with Non-Registration. We are strongly urged by the chief officials of some of the Trade Societies to adopt the principle by getting our Society Registered. Let us give some attention to the subject, with a view to ascertaining its advisability."²¹⁷

For reasons discussed elsewhere (cf section (c) supra), Greenwood's hopes of Registration were unrealised.

The advantages derived from the introduction of the General Fund were fourfold. Firstly, the investments were more widely distributed, thus reducing the facility for possession by local officials. An increase in the number of Trustees to five per £1,000 invested, with Treasurers drawn from the various district branches, reduced the chance of collusive misappropriation. The withdrawal of money by the Trustees was also made dependent upon production of a written Authority bearing the signatures of the Chairman of the Council and the Central Secretary, and bearing the seal of the Society. Finally, the prospect of financial gain as a result of compound interest at 4% per annum, compared to the previous rate of 2.5%, was to benefit the Society by several hundred pounds over a five-year period of investment.²¹⁸

By November 1873, three deposits of £1,000 each had been made with the Corporation of Leeds at 4% per annum.²¹⁹ The deposited sums were withdrawn in June 1878 and two sums of £1,000 were re-invested in the Leeds Old Bank and the remaining sum in the Leeds Bank at 4% per annum, withdrawal being subject to three months' notice.²²⁰

A further sum of £1,000 had been invested initially with William Williams Brown & Cos. Leeds Bank under the above terms and at the same time arrangements had been made with Messrs Beckett & Co. of the Leeds Old Bank for £1,000, first invested in May 1864, to be advanced to 4% per annum and subject to three months' notice of withdrawal.²²¹ The investment of a sixth sum of £1,000 was completed with a third bank, The Leeds and County Bank Ltd., Castleford, in November 1873, and in October 1874 three further sums of £1,000 each were placed in accounts with this bank.²²² Initial negotiations with various other banks respecting terms of investment attracted the notice of commercial speculators, one of whom, The Rotherham Temperance Society, approached the Glass Bottle Makers' Executive Council through their Solicitors desiring to borrow £1,000 to be used to purchase property at Rotherham. Interest of 5% per annum was offered, but the offer was rejected, the Council being "decidedly against investing the Society's funds in private speculations."²²³ The decision was in sharp contrast to the proposal by Warrington District of the Flint Glass Makers' Society in 1876, that £3,000 or £4,000 be invested in the Mersey Docks and Harbour Board, Liverpool.²²⁴ By January 1879, the Glass Bottle Makers' Society had £13,000 invested in their General Fund in the names of sixty-five Trustees,²²⁵ with almost a further £3,400 banked in Branch Accounts.²²⁶ The combination of bad trade and Lock-Outs, at the Thornhill Lees and Stairfoot branches in 1879, resulted in over 50% unemployment among Society members,²²⁷ and made necessary the withdrawal of three sums of £1,000 each from the General Fund. By the close of 1879, Society assets had reduced to £10,542, a trend which was to continue even more dramatically during the following year.²²⁸

The establishment of the General Fund led to an immediate attempt to systematise the auditing procedures within the branches and to induce greater care in the presentation of branch accounts. Throughout the years 1867 to 1873 the Reports had carried information designed to assist branch officials to detect almost any discrepancy²²⁹ but such advice had generally been disregarded and auditing of books had been of an irregular nature. Greenwood, at the instigation of the Council, drew up a system of audit based on that used by the A.S.E. and A.S.C.J. Societies and successfully applied by himself as Central Secretary and previously as Secretary of the Hunslet District.²³⁰ During 1873-74, Greenwood assisted by William Byford and later Martin Waters, undertook a thorough examination of all branch accounts,²³¹ designed to

put accounts in order and also provided local officials with a practical demonstration of the advocated system. Greenwood also sought the attainment of two other goals indispensable to the financial well-being of the Society. The first object was the accurate presentation of accounts. In this respect Greenwood was both meticulous and innovative²³² but he also realised that the value of such work depended upon the membership in both its selection of capable officers and in assiduous examination of branch books and accounts. Regarding selection of branch officials, Greenwood wrote

"The appointment of Secretaries, Treasurers and Trustees, rests with the members generally and not with a few only, and it is almost possible to calculate the extent to which they are responsible for any dishonest practice which may proceed from the persons of their choice. A meeting should use prudence in choosing persons who have to be entrusted in a sense, to an unlimited extent, with money, and not act on a sudden momentary impulse."²³³

And again

"The plain fact of the case is the members are asleep and have been sleeping long enough.....An individual responsibility rests on everyone, whether he feels it or not. Having chosen an Official he is bound to enquire into his labours and know that he performs his work. This is not done in many cases..... Few Trade or Benefit Societies, if any, can return as large an amount of funds as ours, and yet not one, perhaps, possesses a less number proportionately, who manifest less vigilance in its security."²³⁴

For this reason, Greenwood constantly urged rank and file members to examine and question points arising from Society accounts, aware that while such a course might not prove a total hindrance to embezzlement, it could be the means of detecting it in its first stage.²³⁵ Greenwood also fitted the action to the precept by demanding a thorough inspection of his own accounts by a sub-committee composed

of Delegates and Councilmen.²³⁶ How crucial the vigilance of the rank and file was is revealed by the fact that despite the above measures and despite the fact that by late 1873 Greenwood felt able to assert that with one exception the existing group of branch secretaries would

".....make as good secretaries as any
Society might wish to have"²³⁷

further deficits occurred. In the four years 1874-78 the sum of £521-17-0d was misappropriated from five different branches with embezzlements or deficits occurring on two separate occasions at each of the Swinton, Conisbro, Wakefield and Wombwell branches.²³⁸ Of the total deficiency, only £34-9-10½d was repaid, leaving the sum of £487-7-1½d as the amount lost to the Society.²³⁹ Nor did the deficit alone represent the total loss to the Union, for expenses arising from special audits, reports, Delegate Meetings, legal fees and prosecution expenses amounted to a further £768-7-2½d.²⁴⁰ The disproportionate cost of investigation and attempted recovery underline the desire of the Bottle Makers' Executive to control every aspect of the Society's financial affairs,²⁴¹ while the degree of misappropriation substantiates Matsumura's speculation concerning the Flint Glass Makers that labour historians have, perhaps, been inclined to overestimate the integrity of trade union officers.²⁴² Perhaps Alfred Greenwood revealed the heart of the problem when, considering the role of rank and file members regarding the appointment of branch officials, he averred

"..... some do not distinguish the difference
between persons and principles and are apt
to mistake the one for the other."²⁴³

(f) Welfare Benefits.

(i) Unemployment Benefit:

The administration of a wide range of welfare benefits was fundamental to the function of both Societies of artisan glassmakers. Permanent provision of benefits was at once an incentive to membership and the basis for unity. In 1873, the Central Secretary of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society noted

"With reference to the dispensing of
benefits I would observe that the success of a Society very much depends on
the permanency of the benefits.

Consistency is a principle which inspires the members with confidence. The prosperity of the Society of Amalgamated Engineers is to be attributed in a great measure to this principle."²⁴⁴

The size and extent of benefit as well as the permanency depended upon the willingness and ability of the members to afford the high-level contributions to sustain benefit provision and such provision was, therefore, a clear manifestation of corporate and individual status. The ability to pay high contributions on a regular basis was dependent to a great extent upon the regularity of earnings of the members. The glass container trade, subject to seasonal fluctuation as well as cyclical depression, was assured of phases of relatively high unemployment and therefore the provision of unemployment benefit was particularly significant. The early form of organisation adopted by both Societies was based on the system of tramp relief. Combining unemployment allowance with the search for work in various regions of the trade encouraged labour mobility, thus preventing the formation of a static pool of unemployed in areas of depressed trade and the consequent debasement of artisan status through the erosion of wages and working conditions.²⁴⁵ The earliest Code of Rules of the Glass Bottle Makers stated that

"If any member of this Society shall be under the necessity of leaving the town through want of business, he shall receive from each and every member of this Society one shilling, and likewise all the money he has paid into the box...."²⁴⁶

The reciprocal nature of the scheme was indicated by Rule XI which stipulated that

"Any member who may be a stranger and should want relief from this Society, he may, by producing a card, or proper certificate, be entitled to the benefit allowed by the Society."²⁴⁷

By 1853 it would appear that utilisation of the tramping system was optional for rules dated that year state that

"Should any member of this Society be a sufferer from slackness of trade, he shall be allowed the sum of nine shillings per week."²⁴⁸

The introduction of static unemployment allowance by the Yorkshire Society of Glass Bottle Makers followed the action of the Flint Glass Makers who, upon the reorganisation of their Society in 1849, had formally abandoned the system of tramp relief which had characterised all previous systems of Society administration.²⁴⁹ Matsumura's study has indicated how high levels of unemployment resulted in the financial collapse of earlier systems of union government. The recognition of the fact was influential in the decision to abandon tramp relief and replace it with a system of a fixed rate of static donation.²⁵⁰ Matsumura has also narrated how factors such as regional variation in wages and conditions and the lack of organisational control by central government over the constituent elements within the Society initially failed to procure the equalisation of benefit payment. Consequently, periodic resurgence of tramping occurred which prevented financial stability in the first half of the 1850s.²⁵¹ In emphasising the economic nature of the problem, Matsumura neglects consideration of the social determinants underlining the decision to replace tramping by a system of static unemployment donation. In 1851, the editor of the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine declared

"The tramping system was one of the greatest evils ever attached to our trade. It sacrificed the best men - turned them out to tramp and tended in every way to degrade and demoralise them and starve their families."²⁵²

Ex Central Secretary Benjamin Smart, taking a retrospective view of the system, which he described as "wretched and degrading" drew a picture of ruined men standing at the glasshouse gate, wet and weary, waiting for the financial secretary to donate relief given by the workers, while his wife and children starved at home.²⁵³ A somewhat less gloomy picture, but no less revealing in its implication of human degradation, is illustrated by a union card, circa 1850, which depicts a tramping artisan receiving a welcome within the glasshouse whilst figures in the background dance to the music of a fiddler and others drink.²⁵⁴ Clegg, et al, have noted how the system attracted the feckless and footloose, men whose lack of principle resulted in strike-breaking, the establishment of non-union houses and the undermining of local conditions which degraded the individual and diminished the authority of the union, debasing the status of each. The situation was exacerbated as mass unemployment occurred, post 1850, as a result of the development of national markets.²⁵⁵ Hobsbawm's

conclusion is that the tramp system was adversely affected by the radical technical changes post 1840, which regularised trade, altered the pattern of trade cycles, resulted in the delocalisation of trade and the decline of casualism.²⁵⁶ Together with the development of public transport, which assisted social mobility and nullified the tramping system,²⁵⁷ the point is clearly applicable to the Flint Glass Makers' Society with its national organisation and New Model philosophy. In the case of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society, with its regional organisation prescribed by the nature of its industrial specialisation and its governmental system based on ideals of primitive democracy until the mid 1860s, the system of tramp relief underwent a process of natural decline and ultimate obsolescence. The process occurred as a result of developing socio-economic factors rather than the excogitation which had prompted its abandonment by the Flint Glass Makers' Society. Important additional factors in the prolongation of tramping relief by the Yorkshire Society were the Agreement with the Lancashire Society of Glass Bottle Makers and the attempted Amalgamation of regional bottle making societies between 1858-60. The Agreement covered areas of mutual interest arising from a 'Special Conference Meeting of Delegates' held at Manchester in 1851, and represents the first attempt within the Trade to regulate conditions in order to enhance the authority of each Society and the status of their members.²⁵⁸ The Conference was the precursor of the short-lived Amalgamation which was established with the object of "improving the social, intellectual, and moral condition" of the glass bottle makers.²⁵⁹ The Amalgamation represented the application of New Model principles to produce uniformity among the autonomous regions of the trade. The recognition of regional diversity, combined with acknowledgement of the traditionalism underlining district autonomy precluded the formal abandonment of tramping. Nevertheless, the enforced retention of the system provided a discriminatory basis for status recognition for the rules stipulated

"That should any member..... be thrown out of employment by some unforeseen accident, and his fellow workmen know that such accident(sic) are not habitual to the man, he shall receive £3 for the whole circuit of the country:- 16s for the North, 16s for Yorkshire, 11s for Lancashire, 11s for Glasgow, 3s for Leith, 3s for Dublin. This constitutes the second class of unemployed."²⁶⁰

Whereas, a member

"..... thrown out of work by his own neglect,
such as drunkenness or habitual neglect,
whereby his fellow workmen shall know that
he lost his situation through his own
fault, he shall receive a card, and £2
to go round the country with, to seek
work."²⁶¹

Such discrimination used traditional observance as a means of promoting the developing status awareness which was the hallmark of New Model idealism. It is, perhaps a measure of both the decline of casualism and socio-economic idealism that within a year of its establishment the Amalgamated Society had replaced tramp relief with 9/- per week static unemployment allowance, payable ad infinitum, at the discretion of the district committee to any member

"..... thrown out of employment by depression
of trade, or the laying-in of a house, or by
any other cause whereby it shall be known
that such cause or causes are not under the
man's own control....."²⁶²

Following the collapse of the Amalgamation the re-formed Yorkshire Society, clearly influenced by the New Model principles of the 'United' Society, adopted the above rule which embodied the static provision first introduced by the Yorkshire Society in 1853.²⁶³ Nevertheless, the tramping was clearly a feature of the Society for the revision of the 1862 code of rules in January 1865, makes specific provision

"That the amount of relief to tramps shall
be regulated by the delegate meeting,
according to the number of shops working
in each district; no member who is not
clear on the Society's books shall be
entitled to receive a card, and no more
than one card shall be granted in six
months."²⁶⁴

Furthermore, despite the adoption of a centralised system of government embodying New Model concepts, the existing Agreement with the Lancashire Society was further extended with a fixed scale of tramp relief based on the size of various districts within the jurisdiction of each Society. This Agreement was mutually observed until 1874 when it was abrogated by the Lancashire Society upon joining the second Amalgamation of regional bottle making societies from which

Yorkshire held aloof.²⁶⁵ It is possible that the extension of the tramping clause in the Agreement arose in response to the migration of labour from low to high trade areas such as Yorkshire and Lancashire. It reflects the attempt by the two Societies to regulate the labour force, being a further manifestation of the desire to safeguard the basis of the socio-economic status of the memberships. The same desire may explain the continued observance of the tramp system throughout the branches of the Yorkshire Society where relief provision was quite separate from that agreed with reference to Lancashire artisans.²⁶⁶

TABLE 7:16 BRANCHES OF CALL AND RATES OF TRAMP RELIEF OBSERVED BY THE G.B.M. SOCIETIES OF YORKSHIRE AND LANCASHIRE, 1867 - 1874

YORKSHIRE BRANCHES	RELIEF s d	LANCASHIRE BRANCHES	RELIEF s d
Thornhill Lees	3 6	Manchester	3 6
Wakefield	1 6	Newton	1 6
Hunslet	3 6	Warrington	3 0
Castleford	7 6	St. Helens	5 0
Swinton	5 0	Liverpool	7 0
Ferrybridge	3 0		
Conisbro	1 0		
Masbro	3 0		
Barnsley	2 0		

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 43 - 45.

The adherence to tramping by the Yorkshire Society, even following its adoption of a 'New Model' form of government apparatus, may be explained by the initial inability of the Central Executive to impose its authority upon the district membership. Again, Matsumura has shown the inability of the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to enforce its decree outlawing tramping before the introduction of a centrally controlled and administered Roll System in 1857 - almost a decade after tramp abolition.²⁶⁷ An equal length of time elapsed following the establishment of the Executive Committee of the Yorkshire Society and the acceptance of its authority within the ranks of Society. Matsumura has cited instances of the resurgence of tramping²⁶⁸ and of imposition by idle members.²⁶⁹ Even following the

establishment of permanent unemployment donation under Central Office control, numerous instances occur of abuse by unscrupulous members aided by a residual element of regard for traditional trade observance. Indications of an unofficial return to tramping at a time of trade depression are evident in 1861,²⁷⁰ while only a few years later the Editor of the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine stated his intention to publish the names of members who used the pretext of visiting friends in other districts as a means of undertaking a begging and drinking tour, a practice widely observed in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Staffordshire.²⁷¹ A decade later, C.S. William Packwood castigated the "Professional Tramp" - men who, having received unemployment pay, went round other districts of the trade soliciting collections or, having lost a situation through drunkenness or neglect, visited other branches posing as victims of injustice and sought relief.²⁷² As late as 1875 a writer to the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine stated his belief that more tramps existed within the glass trade than in any other,²⁷³ nor were such examples confined to the Flint Glass Makers. In 1874, Alfred Greenwood, noting branch account references to tramping artisans, questioned the use of the system, urging a substitution for the tramping rule.²⁷⁴ Two years later the Delegate Meeting was requested by Barnsley Branch to consider the practice of Society members applying for workshop 'gatherings' when unemployed.²⁷⁵ As early as 1873 the Executive Council had indicated its lack of support for the tramping system by its arbitrary decision not to extend the tramping clause in the Agreement with the Lancashire Society to all other districts of the trade, being "of the opinion that the members would not support the move."²⁷⁶ Whatever the degree of opinion among the rank and file, tramping relief continued until 1883 when it was replaced by the system of "sending members to situations" (i.e. paying rail fares)²⁷⁷ and it may be indicative of the deep attachment to traditionalism on the part of an element of the membership that as late as 1894, one of the branch accounts recorded the sum of 2s 7d expended as "travelling benefit".²⁷⁸

The unemployment allowance of 9 shillings per week fixed by the rules of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society in 1853, continued unchanged up to and beyond 1880. Matsumura has shown that variable rates existed within the Flint Glass Makers' Society throughout the period, commencing with a rate of 7/6d per week for workmen and servitors, and 5/- per week for footmen. Between 1849 and 1852, the rates were reduced by 3/- and 2/- per week respectively as a result

of the financial crisis of 1853.²⁷⁹ From 1854, a sliding scale was introduced whereby a workman and servitor received 10/- per week for the first three months, reducing to 8/- per week for the next three months and thereafter 6/- per week for 6 months, followed by 4/- per week for the next six, with Footmen receiving $\frac{2}{3}$ of the above rates.²⁸⁰ The rates were incorporated into the Rules revision of 1858, with benefit being spread over a two and a half year period, after which the long-term unemployed automatically transferred to the ranks of the superannuated members.²⁸¹ A pro-rata increase of 2/- per week was made in 1867, confirmed by the 1867 code of rules and remained in use until 1880.²⁸²

The amount of unemployment allowance as a proportion of each Society's total expenditure naturally varied from year to year according to the vagaries of the trade cycle.

TABLE 7:17 ANNUAL EXPENDITURE AND UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION OF F.G.M. SOCIETY, 1867 - 1879

YEAR	SOCIETY'S ANNUAL EXPENDITURE			ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE	AVERAGE COST OF DONATION PER MEMBER		
	£	s	d	£	s	d		£	s	d
1867	1474	16	11	591	3	9	40.0	6	10	$\frac{1}{2}$
1868	1051	9	4	664	5	2	63.1	7	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
1869	1212	11	10	740	4	0	61.0	8	7	
1870	1120	10	10	639	13	8	57.0	7	3	
1871	1172	8	10	459	2	8	39.1	5	1	
1872	1005	14	6	315	1	10	31.3	3	5	
1873	1087	9	4	396	0	4	36.4	4	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
1874	1739	11	6	616	2	10	35.4	6	4	$\frac{1}{2}$
1875	1077	8	6	395	17	3	36.6	3	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
1876	1203	19	4	399	7	3	33.1	3	11	
1877	1751	18	4	1087	1	8	62.0	10	4	$\frac{1}{2}$
1878	3267	6	0	2565	15	8	78.5	1	3	2
1879	2702	8	6	1992	12	0	73.7	19	8	
TOTALS	19867	13	11	10858	8	1	54.6			

Sources: (i) Matsumura op cit, Table A3, p 392.

(ii) F.G.M.M. 1867-79, Quarterly Returns *passim*.

Table 7:17 shows that the average expenditure on unemployed members by the F.G.M. Society decreased in accordance with the growing prosperity of the flint glass trade, reducing from 76.9% of total Society expenditure in the mid 1850s to 38.0% by the seventies. Thereafter, as domestic

markets intensified in the face of foreign competition the proportion of Society expenditure on unemployment allowance rose, reaching 62.2% by the early years of the following decade.²⁸³

TABLE 7:18 ANNUAL EXPENDITURE AND UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION OF
YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1867 - 1879

YEAR	SOCIETY'S ANNUAL EXPENDITURE			ANNUAL UNEMPLOYMENT DONATION			PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL EXPENDITURE	AVERAGE COST OF DONATION PER MEMBER		
	£	s	d	£	s	d	%	£	s	d
1867	1756	6	7	953	14	0½	54.2	1	7	7
1868	2293	12	7	1181	7	7	51.5	1	12	9¾
1869	936	16	11½	207	19	6	22.1		5	5¾
1870	1070	16	5½	202	18	7	18.8		5	1½
1871	952	8	3	281	17	10	29.5		7	1½
1872	2373	7	11½	17	10	3	0.7		0	4¾
1873	713	0	7½	7	7	9	0.9		0	1¾
1874	821	5	0½	30	2	6	3.6		0	7
1875	2059	1	11½	30	8	6	1.4		0	6¾
1876	2896	3	0	76	18	6	2.6		1	4½
1877	5041	15	9	439	16	6	8.7		7	8¾
1878	8419	15	2½	3082	3	0	36.0	2	13	7
1879	9457	1	1	3550	19	0	37.5	3	1	10¾
TOTALS	38791	11	5½	10263	3	6½	26.4			

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867-79 passim.

Table 7:18 reveals a parallel trend in the expenditure of the G.B.M. Society. A sharp decline from the late 1860s was followed by an even more perceptible fall in the first half of the 1870s when prosperous conditions of trade reduced even the regular occurrence of seasonal unemployment to negligible proportions. From the mid 1870s a gradual increase in unemployment was experienced as the trade boom began to lose momentum. The resultant increase in unemployment was exacerbated by worsening industrial relations and reached unprecedented levels in consequence of the Lock-Out of 1876-77, and its aftermath which also co-incided with a prolonged period of bad trade extending into the second quarter of 1881. The Table also reflects the increased prosperity of the Society itself, a point illustrated by the fact that although the annual total of unemployed in receipt of benefit was much higher at the end of the period, than at the beginning, the amount of unemployment benefit as a percentage of total expenditure was far less than that of the late 1860s. Comparison of the figures of both Societies shows that during the period 1870 - 1874, when trade was at its best in both spheres of industry, the sum of £537, or 10.8% of the

total expenditure of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society was spent on unemployment relief, whilst the Flint Glass Makers, during the same period, expended £2,426 or 39% of overall expenditure as unemployment benefit.²⁸⁴ During the declining phase of trade encompassed by the years 1875 - 1879, the Glass Bottle Makers' proportion of unemployment allowance rose to £7,177 or 25.7%, while that of the Flint Hands increased to £6,438, representing 64.4% of total expenditure by the Society.²⁸⁵ Matsumura's detailed analysis of unemployment statistics concerning flint glass factories at Stourbridge and Newcastle led him to conclude that there were no large seasonal fluctuations of employment in the flint glass industry in Stourbridge and Newcastle, and that "there is no reason to believe that outside these two regions seasonal fluctuations of unemployment was marked."²⁸⁶

TABLE 7:19 COMPARISON OF UNEMPLOYED G.B.Ms - SUMMER AND WINTER SEASONS 1867 - 1879

YEAR	NUMBERS UNEMPLOYED		%
	SUMMER QUARTER	WINTER QUARTER	
1867	91 (a)	163	44.1
1868	53	53	0.0
1869	31	61	49.1
1870	42	94	55.3
1871	40	39	- 2.5
1872	10	10	0.0
1873	7	18	61.1
1874	11	39	71.7
1875	39	57	31.5
1876	44	188	76.5
1877	137	204	32.8
1878	165	353	53.2
1879	186	632	70.5

Source: Quarterly Returns, G.B.M. Reports, 1867-79 passim.
(a) Autumn quarter, as Summer figures unavailable.

Table 7:19 shows comparative numbers of G.B.M. out of work during the summer and winter seasons of each year during the period 1867-79. The high incidence of seasonal unemployment revealed stands in contrast to Matsumura's findings. How can the variation be explained? One reason is to be found in the wider geographical dispersion and varied production of the flint glass trade which acted as a buffer against the effects of fluctuating cycles of trade. The Yorkshire trade, with its specialisation in containers for preserves and mineral waters and beverages, was one which reached a peak in the summer season and then slackened off from the autumn to produce a seasonal pool of unemployed

journeyman throughout the winter. Nevertheless, the boom in the container industry during the early 1870s was less beneficial to the flint glass trade at that time, while the bottle trade remained largely unscathed for almost a further decade. Comparison of statistical material in Table 7:17 and Table 7:18 reveals that during the fourteen years 1867-79 the total amount spent by each Society on unemployment benefit was almost an equivalent sum. The total annual expenditure of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers far exceeded that of the Flint Glass Makers, so that the total unemployment donation of £10,263-3-6½ of the Yorkshire Society represents only 26.4% of overall expenditure, while the £10,858-8-1, expended on the unemployed of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, comprised 54.6% of total expenditure. Nevertheless, the wide disparity cannot be attributed solely to differences in general expenditure, for it will be seen that in the context of unemployment allowance at no time during the period stated did the proportional percentage of the Flint Glass Makers' Society fall below 31%, whilst at no time after 1868 did the Glass Bottle Makers' percentage of total expenditure rise above 37%. Indeed, only in 1867, was the proportional expenditure of the Yorkshire Society higher than that of its rival Society.

TABLE 7:20 AMOUNT OF TRAMP MONEY EXPENDED BY YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF AND PERCENTAGE OF SOCIETY'S TOTAL EXPENDITURE, 1867 - 1880

YEAR	TRAVELLING DONTATION			PERCENTAGE OF UNEMPLOY- MENT RELIEF	PERCENTAGE OF SOCIETY'S EXPENDITURE
	£	s	d		
1867	61	12	6	6 - 4	3 - 4
1868	57	12	7	4 - 8	2 - 4
1869	36	17	6	17 - 3	3 - 8
1870	15	11	7	7 - 4	1 - 4
1871	23	12	0	8 - 1	2 - 4
1872	3	11	3	17 - 6	0 - 1
1873		3	9	2 - 0	0 - 0
1874	2	4	6	6 - 6	0 - 2
1875	3	17	6	10 - 0	0 - 1
1876	10	6	6	13 - 1	0 - 3
1877	28	10	6	6 - 3	0 - 5
1878	162	11	0	5 - 2	1 - 9
1879	150	9	0	4 - 2	1 - 5
1880	39	0	6	1 - 7	0 - 6
TOTAL	596	0	8		

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867 - 1880 passim.

It might be considered that the adherence of the G.B.M. Society to the system of tramp relief acted as an ^{mitigating} alleviatory factor. Table 7:20 reveals, however, that such was not a generally significant consideration. The diminutive sum of £596 spent by the Glass Bottle Makers on the direct relief of tramps during the period 1867 - 1880, represents only 5.8% of total unemployment payments during the period, and a mere 1.5% of total Society expenditure. The upsurge of tramp relief as a proportion of unemployment donation in the years 1869 and 1872, probably represents artisan movement in response to variable conditions of employment within the districts of the Country as a result of advances in the state of trade, although the good summer season of the former year was followed by relatively high unemployment during the subsequent one. As the Table shows, unemployment was a negligible factor in 1872 and the increase of tramp donation that year probably represents a combination of labour mobility prior to the introduction of the List of uniform wages and numbers throughout the County, and the marked decline in unemployment benefit as a result of the trade boom. The upsurge in tramp relief during the years 1875 - 1876 was paralleled by an increase in unemployment donation generally, both of which occurred as a result of the onset of trade depression. Despite the fluctuation in the amount of tramp relief paid throughout the period, the declining trend of such relief when considered in terms of total Society expenditure, confirms the obsolescence of traditional observance in the face of industrial change and a conscious status factor in the attitude and actions of the Glass Bottle Makers. The decline of the tramping system as a result of on-going change must be considered in the same light. If the system continued for a space of years before being formally replaced by payment of rail fares to artisans moving in response to specific vacancies, it must be regarded merely as a token to traditional observance. The effect of unemployment as an influential agent governing the status consciousness of the glass bottle hands is seen by reference to Table 7:21 over.

The effect of cyclical trade is clearly evident from the annual average number of unemployed members shown in column 1. More significant, however, is the rising number of members governed by the terms of the 32nd Rule. The 32nd Rule had its genesis in Rule 8 of the 1853 Code of Society Rules which in addition to stipulating unemployment donation of 12 shillings per week stated that members "..... be allowed to make it up to 18 shillings at any other business." Rules

TABLE 7:21

TABLE 7:21 ANNUAL AVERAGE OF G.B.M. SOCIETY MEMBERS UNEMPLOYED
OR PER 32nd RULE AND PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP,
1867 - 1879

YEAR	AVERAGE No. OF MEMBERS UNEMPLOYED PER ANNUM	AVERAGE No. OF MEMBERS ON 32nd RULE PER ANNUM	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP UNEMPLOYED MINUS 32nd RULE	PERCENTAGE OF MEMBERSHIP UNEMPLOYED PLUS 32nd RULE
1867 (a)	127	6	17 - 8	18 - 6
1868	80	10	11 - 0	12 - 4
1869	37	15	4 - 9	6 - 9
1870	60	18	7 - 6	9 - 9
1871	51	23	6 - 4	9 - 2
1872	20	27	2 - 3	5 - 5
1873	12	23	1 - 2	3 - 7
1874	26	26	2 - 6	5 - 2
1875	39	22	3 - 7	5 - 9
1876	109	39	9 - 9	13 - 5
1877	172	28	15 - 1	17 - 6
1878	252	33	22 - 0	24 - 8
1879	369	35	31 - 8	34 - 9

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867 - 1879 passim

(a) figures available for last two quarters of year only

10 and 11 of the Code of 1862 granted incapacitated members 5 shillings per week for life allowing the member to ".....make what he can out of The Glass House." The purpose of such measures was obviously aimed at maintaining the socio-economic status of Society members and although the supplementary earnings provision was removed from the revised Code of 1865, the 32nd Rule of 1862 which was applicable to expatriate members only, was extended to provide funeral benefit and free re-entry to the trade by "Any member wishing to retire from the trade." Thus a member seeking a livelihood outside the glass house was assured by payment of a nominal subscription of 3/- per quarter, payable in advance, of a dignified funeral for self and family befitting their social status and also the maintenance of social ties with the exclusive trade fraternity. The Table shows that even in the boom years of the mid seventies when unemployment reached negligible proportions, an increasing number of journeymen took advantage of the provision afforded by the 32nd Rule and with the commencement of the adverse phase, post 1875, the number further increased, so that over the period a six-fold increase occurred. The resultant trend produced a considerable intensification of the Society's unemployment levels, particularly so from 1876. The comparison of unemployment donation by the G.B.M. Society and eleven other 'New Model' trade societies is shown in Table 7:22 from which it can be seen that although the G.B.M. Society was one of those whose scale of donation was at the lowest level of 9 shillings per week, that from being second lowest in financial outlay in 1869, it had risen by 94.1% to make it inferior only to the giant societies of the Engineers and the Ironfounders in terms of per capita outlay by 1879. The comparison of the two glassmakers' societies is significant for the reversal of their positions over the decade. Despite the fact that the F.G. Makers had a 57% larger membership than the Yorkshire Society in 1879, and had increased payments during the decade so that a rate of 3 shillings more per week appertained, a 27.9% excess over the G.B.M. Society's expenditure in 1869 had become transposed to an excess of 56% in the annual expenditure of the Glass Bottle Makers. By 1879 the per capita cost to members of the latter Society was three times that of the flint hands. The conclusion to be drawn is that the specialised nature of the Yorkshire bottle trade made artisans engaged in the trade particularly vulnerable to unemployment at times of adverse trade conditions, such as those which appertained in 1879. The incidence of trade depression therefore posed a considerable threat to the finances of the G.B.Ms. Society as well as to the socio-economic status of the individual

TABLE 7:22 COMPARISON OF ANNUAL AMOUNTS, TOTAL AND PER CAPITA, OF TWELVE TRADE SOCIETIES' BENEFIT EXPENDITURE, 1869 and 1879

NAME OF SOCIETY	1869				1879			
	WEEKLY RATE	ANNUAL BENEFIT	PER CAPITA	ANNUAL BENEFIT	PER CAPITA			
	s d	£	£ s d	£	£ s d			
Glass Bottle Makers, Yorkshire	9	207	5 5½	3550	3 1 10⅔			
National Flint Glass Makers	10/12	740	8 7	1992	19 8			
Amalgamated Engineers	10	59980	1 15 9	149931	3 8 0			
Operative Stonemasons	9	4110	3 6½	7213	9 4½			
Carpenters and Joiners	10	8904	19 1½	27902	1 12 9			
Boilermakers & Iron Shipbuilders	11	1795	5 8	32027	1 17 8			
Ironfounders	9	24887	2 15 4	57511	4 13 8			
U.K. Coachmakers	-	5288	18 5½	15790	2 5 8½			
Steam Engine Makers	10	3363	1 3 11½	8402	2 1 3½			
Operative Bricklayers	9	34	0 4	166	0 6½			
Amalgamated Taylors	9 / 4	202	1 0	1891	2 8½			
Associated Blacksmiths	-	208	2 9	3525	1 12 10½			

Sources: (i) G.B.M. Reports, 1869-79 passim.
(ii) F.G.M.M. 1869-79 passim.
(iii) Howell G. Trade Unions Old and New, pp 210 and 214

member and his family. The strategies adopted by the Glass Bottle Makers during the following decades concerning attitudes to work-sharing, mechanisation, wage levels and sundry other aspects of trade must be considered within the context of artisan unemployment and its implications for trade and social status.

(ii) Superannuation.

The need of craft unions to attract the maximum number of artisan members in order to exercise control of the trade and thereby achieve their trade objectives, combined with a desire to present a publicly acceptable image, has been shown by Hanson to be the underlying reason for the extension of welfare benefits by trade societies post 1850.²⁸⁷ Of the many benefits administered by trade unions, superannuation posed the greatest dilemma, a fact clearly illustrated by Hanson's reference to the evidence given to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions, 1867-69. Alfred Greenwood, reviewing the origins of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' superannuation scheme, some forty years after its establishment, expressed the opinion that the founders of the scheme

"..... knew no more about framing a
superannuation rule than a superannuation
rule knew about them."²⁸⁸

Greenwood was not only criticising lack of foresight by the Society pioneers whose over-generous nature had allowed humanitarianism to override economic prudence, but also expressing an opinion shared by his contemporaries and acquired as a result of practical experience concerning the subject. Superannuation by its very nature was subjected to the lapse of time and therefore required evaluation in terms of future probability regarding membership growth, likely demand for benefit and conditions of trade. Such considerations appear to have either escaped the notice or defied the skill of the most astute trade union officials,²⁸⁹ a fact to which the subsequent developments within the glass makers societies bears testimony.

The custom within the glass trade of marking retirement for reasons of age, illness, or incapacity was observed by both Societies during their formative years. The Flint Glass Makers broke with the tradition shortly after the reorganisation of the Society in 1849.²⁹⁰ The Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society, influenced by the example of the Amalgamated Society of which it formed a constituent part between 1858-60, commenced donation of superannuation benefit upon its re-

establishment as an independent Society in 1862.

Between 1849 and 1854, the Flint Glass Makers observed a uniform payment of ten shillings per week, a sum decreed by the Central Committee but administered by the financially autonomous districts.²⁹¹ The financial retrenchment of 1852 resulted in a reduction of the benefit to two shillings per week, but the original sum was restored by trade vote in February 1854.²⁹² The Glass Bottle Makers' rules provided uniform donation, stating that any incapacitated member "shall receive the sum of five shillings per week as long as he lives."²⁹³ The comprehensive nature of the superannuation rule of both Societies precluded the fixing of a minimum qualifying age in a trade notorious for its danger to health and seasonal unemployment. Matsumura has suggested that since no fixed retirement existed within the trade and maximum earnings (and ipso facto, standard of living) ^{were} ~~was~~ obtained by artisans in later years, many artisans would prefer to continue to work rather than exist on superannuation allowance.²⁹⁴ This fact may well have influenced Society thinking, especially in the early years when numbers dependent upon superannuation benefit were small. However, the former considerations seem to have out-weighed the latter for as early as 1865, the Glass Bottle Makers had modified their provision by introducing a two stage system by which members clear on the Society's books for five years received five shillings per week for life and clear members of three years standing obtained three shillings per week for life.²⁹⁵ Despite the short life expectancy of glass artisans in general, the lack of a basic age of entitlement together with the time provision of both Societies with regard to dispensation of superannuation benefit exacerbated the financial situation as an increasing number of artisans became superannuated. In the case of the Flint Glass Makers the situation was made worse by the fact that having run through the scale of unemployment allowance, long-term unemployed were automatically transferred to the ranks of the superannuated. Table 7:23 shows that as a result of the increase in superannuation and unemployed members from 1854, it was necessary to introduce a three-stage system of superannuation benefit. The new system was incorporated into the F.G.M. Society Rules in 1858. By the mid-1860s the number of superannuated members had doubled within five years. The superannuation fund was placed under further strain by the fact that some district officials either, through deliberate or unintentional misinterpretation of the rules, allowed incapacitated members who by rule ought to have been designated as immediate superannuees, to run through the entire scales of unemployment allowance,

TABLE 7:23 CHANGES IN SCALE OF SUPERANNUATION BENEFIT IN ACCORDANCE WITH RULES OF F.G.M. SOCIETY
DURING PERIOD 1858 - 1874

CODE OF RULES		BENEFIT PAID ACCORDING TO LENGTH OF MEMBERSHIP											
YEARS		10	13	15	16	18	19	20	21	22	24	25	30
1858	2/6	3/-						3/6					
1867	3/-	4/-		5/-		6/-			7/-		8/-		
1874	2/6	3/-		4/-				6/-		7/-			

Source: Matsumura T., op cit, Table 5:7, p 255. *passim*.

thus obtaining more money than long-serving members receiving superannuation allowance of four shillings per week.²⁹⁶ The growing awareness of the need for constraint expressed by C.S. Benjamin Smart, alarmed by the potential demand on Society resources by an ageing membership,²⁹⁷ was ignored. Indeed, in 1866, the practice of paying two shillings extra per week during the winter season was adopted, thereby causing an increase of almost 70% in the cost of superannuation benefit.²⁹⁸ The following year (1867) the superannuation scheme was liberally revised with the incremental scale extended from four to six stages, each stage of benefit being increased.

Liberal interpretation of the rule at district level, supplementary payment during the winter season, and the increase of benefit provision by delegates to the Trade Conference of 1867, imply a recognition of immediate need by an element of the membership of the Flint Glass Makers' Society. The attitude stands in sharp contrast with the need for good husbandry urged by other Society members in the face of rising demand and increased expenditure, both actual and projected. The disparity of outlook arose during the 1860s when the Society favoured by prosperous conditions of trade, increased in membership and wealth, sought to enhance its corporate status by the extension of the range and scale of its benefits, in accordance with those of the larger 'New Model' Societies such as the A.S.E. and A.S.C.J. The acquisition of corporate status was reflected at individual level by an extension of superannuation donation which increased the expenditure of the Society at a time when the natural increase in ageing members necessitated greater financial provision. The effect is shown in Table 7:24.

TABLE 7:24 AVERAGE NUMBER OF SUPERANNUATED MEMBERS OF F.G.M.
SOCIETY AND AMOUNT EXPENDED IN QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS
1853 - 1880

PERIOD OF YEARS	AVERAGE NUMBER PLACED ON BENEFIT		TOTAL BENEFIT		
	NATIONAL	YORKSHIRE	£	s	d
1853 - 55	22	4	354	14	5
1856 - 60	23	3	674	8	0
1861 - 65	46	4	1353	11	0
1866 - 70	55	9	2392	26	8
1871 - 75	91	10	3565	1	7
1876 - 80	140	16	6577	1	9
TOTALS	377	46	14917	13	5

Source: F.G.M.M. Quarterly Returns 1853 - 1880 passim.

The Table reveals that between 1860-65 the average number of members placed on superannuation doubled and then doubled again during the next decade, a trend which resulted in a percentage increase of 49.8%, 56.5% and 67% in financial terms during the three quinquennial periods 1861 - 1875. By the 1870s, the downturn in trade and the resultant increase in unemployment resulted in an intensification of the dilemma faced by the Society. In 1871 the Manchester Conference reduced both the range and amount of superannuation benefit, but the following year London District proposed an increase and were backed by the newly appointed Central Committee under C.S. Joseph Rudge, who, conscious of the status diminishment occasioned by the 1871 decision opined that the existing rates were

"..... no credit to our Society."²⁹⁹

Opposition to this view was led by T.S. Wilkinson, the retiring C.S. of Birmingham District, who pointed out that the per capita cost of superannuation benefit had risen from 2s 8d in 1854 to 5s 4d in 1869 and would continue to rise throughout the ensuing decade as an increasing number of members of Society attained superannuable age.³⁰⁰ The subsequent trade vote supported the Birmingham District,³⁰¹ but the Trade Conference of 1874 sought to affect a compromise by modification of the superannuation rates which was incorporated into the rules revision of 1876.

The significant increase which occurred in the mid seventies is clearly indicated in Table 7:25. As early as 1872 a proposed levy of 3d per member had been rejected by the Trade,³⁰² but repropoed, it found subsequent approval through association with a proposition by the Glasgow District that the superannuation Rule be extended to provide for the widows of members overtaken by sudden death, thereby obviating the inconsistent system of voluntary subscription.³⁰³ The adoption of the above measures coincided with a trade recession resulting in an increase in the average annual number of superannuees from 71 in 1874 to 91 the following year, with 88% of Society expenditure being spent on superannuation benefit. By 1879, superannuation expenditure was in excess of £1,400, a cost of 13s 9³/₄d per member of Society. Contributions and levy combined were inadequate to meet prospective expenditure and rank and file hostility prevented further adjustment of the superannuation scales.³⁰⁴ The incoming Central Committee, under C.S. William Packwood, faced the dilemma of bankruptcy or curtailment of welfare provision with its implication of status debasement for the Society and its members. Packwood commenced by abandoning the

TABLE 7:25 AVERAGE NUMBER OF SUPERANNUATED MEMBERS OF YORKSHIRE
F.G.M. SOCIETY AND AMOUNT EXPENDED ANNUALLY AND PER
CAPITA, 1853 - 1880

YEAR	ANNUAL BENEFIT			AVERAGE No. SUPERANNUES		AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER		
	£	s	d	NATIONAL	YORKS	£	s	d
1853	126	11	0	18	5	2	5	$\frac{3}{4}$
1854	107	8	0	20	4	2		2
1855	120	15	5	22	4	2		$8\frac{1}{4}$
1856	137	12	6	20	4	2		$6\frac{1}{4}$
1857	117	7	6	21	5	1		$10\frac{3}{4}$
1858	126	4	0	20	3	1		$11\frac{1}{2}$
1859	137	17	6	21	2	2		$1\frac{1}{4}$
1860	155	6	6	23	3	2		$3\frac{1}{2}$
1861	205	13	0	26	3	3		$0\frac{3}{4}$
1862	246	8	6	26	3	3		$6\frac{3}{4}$
1863	251	17	0	34	3	3		$4\frac{1}{2}$
1864	278	3	0	38	5	3		$5\frac{3}{4}$
1865	371	9	6	46	4	4		$7\frac{1}{2}$
1866	399	11	0	48	4	4		$9\frac{1}{4}$
1867	468	2	6	45	4	5		$6\frac{1}{4}$
1868	486	17	0	45	4	5		9
1869	490	18	8	46	5	5		$8\frac{3}{4}$
1870	547	7	6	55	9	6		$1\frac{3}{4}$
1871	609	18	6	62	10	6		$9\frac{3}{4}$
1872	626	9	6	68	11	6		$7\frac{1}{4}$
1873	661	9	7	68	10	6		$11\frac{1}{4}$
1874	719	3	0	71	11	7		$5\frac{1}{4}$
1875	948	1	0	91	10	9		$5\frac{1}{4}$
1886	1040	17	0	96	12	9		$11\frac{1}{4}$
1887	1256	2	3	112	13	11		$11\frac{3}{4}$
1888	1388	13	7	115	15	13		$7\frac{3}{4}$
1889	1400	10	3	125	14	13		$9\frac{3}{4}$
TOTAL	13426	14	9	---	---	-----		

Source: F.G.M.M. Quarterly Returns, 1853 - 1879 passim.

supplementary payments which had, over the years, assumed a custom based expectancy by the rank and file. Aware that the status of the Society in both the eyes of public and members alike, depended upon a favourable comparison with other artisan trade Societies, Packwood justified the proposed economy on the grounds that since Society benefits were

"..... as much as any other respectable Society's, we see no reason to make periodic advances which act unfairly to other members who immediately come out of work after expiration of the benefits."³⁰⁵

The levy imposed to cover grants to widows and incapacitated members was abandoned as it was considered to be

"....overbrudening members with taxation in support of objectives which are not in accord with trade union principles."³⁰⁶

To counter the criticism that superannuation was inadequate, it was claimed that no other Society in England made provision for its members either so early in years or in the amount paid as did the Flint Glass Makers' Society.³⁰⁷ With annual benefit in excess of £1,400 representing over 50% of Society's expenditure at a cost of almost 14 shillings per year to each Society member, Packwood's assertion was as true as the action of the Central Committee was necessary. The need for financial reform of the superannuation benefit reveals both the actuarial limitations of the previous officials of the Society and more significantly, the extent to which the Society had become the victim of its own pride and prestige, occasioning the face-saving comments which accompanied the restrictive action of the Central Committee.

In common with the Flint Glass Makers, the superannuation scheme of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers allowed incapacitated members to be placed on donation at any age. The fundamental weakness was recognised by Alfred Greenwood who, as the Hunslet Branch delegate, attempted in 1865 to introduce a minimum age of eligibility and also to lengthen the period of membership, as the basis of superannuation donation. Greenwood, who had only joined the Society during the previous year (1864) had no power base within the ranks of assembled Delegates and was contemptuously dismissed as "a young mushroom" by the 'old guard' at the Delegate Meeting.³⁰⁸ Events, however, confirmed Greenwood's sagacity for although the first beneficiary was 63 years old when placed on superannuation in 1861, the second in October 1865, was only 32 years of age, and the third in November 1867,

a mere 25 years old.³⁰⁹ The average age of the 38 beneficiaries during the 20 year period 1861 - 1880 was a little over 45 years.

TABLE 7:26 NUMBER OF MEMBERS OF YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY
SUPERANNUATED AND AMOUNT EXPENDED IN QUINQUENNIAL
PERIODS, 1861 - 1880.

PERIOD OF YEARS	NUMBER PLACED ON BENEFIT	TOTAL BENEFIT		
		£	s	d
1861 - 65	1	53	15	0
1866 - 70	5	128	1	0
1870 - 75	10	461	14	0
1875 - 80	22	771	19	0
TOTALS	38	1415	9	0

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, p 22

Table 7:26 shows that the total sum of £1145-9-0d, giving an average sum of £37-4-11½d per beneficiary, was expended as superannuation throughout the period. From £53-15-0d for the first five year period, the cost more than doubled in the years 1866-70 and then increased by 3½ times that amount in the following five years to £461-14-0d, rising to £771-19-0d between 1876-80, with the number of recipients increasing fourfold between 1870 and 1880.

Table 7:27 shows the situation of the G.B.M. Society in terms of annual expenditure, both general and per capita. By 1872 the number of superannuees increased by 50%, increasing the per capita cost to the members from 1s 1d the previous year when the annual superannuation total was a little more than £43, to 2s 6½d per member as the annual cost soared to £111-13-0d. The figures compare favourably with those concerning the Flint Glass Makers' expenditure whose £626-9-6d at a cost per member of 6s-7½d, represented some 62% of total Society expenditure, as opposed to only 4.6% of the total expended by the Glass Bottle Makers in 1872. The upward trend emphasised the disadvantageous position of the G.B.Ms by comparison with the larger 'New Model' Societies as may be seen by reference to Table 7:28 (*infra*). The recognition of this fact resulted in proposals for the restructuring of the Society's Superannuation Rule. In 1873, Castleford Branch suggested a longer arrears-free membership as the basis for entitlement and suggested that the E.C. consider overhauling

TABLE 7:27 AVERAGE NUMBER OF SUPERANNUATED MEMBERS OF YORKSHIRE
G.B.M. SOCIETY AND AMOUNT EXPENDED ANNUALLY AND PER
CAPITA, 1861 - 1879

YEAR	ANNUAL BENEFIT			AVERAGE No SUPERANNUUEES	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER		
	£	s	d		£	s	d
1861	3	0	0	1	-----		
1862	12	0	0	1	-----		
1863	12	0	0	1	-----		
1864	15	0	0	1	-----		
1865	11	15	0	2		0	4½
1866	NIL			—	-----		
1867	17	8	0	2		0	6
1868	19	4	0	2			6½
1869	46	15	0	4		1	2½
1870	44	14	0	4		1	1½
1871	43	4	0	4		1	1
1872	111	13	0	8		2	6½
1873	101	9	0	9		2	1½
1874	94	8	0	9		1	10½
1875	111	0	0	8		2	1
1876	99	7	0	8		1	9½
1877	120	18	0	13		2	1½
1888	214	10	0	15		3	8½
1889	215	5	0	19		3	8½
TOTALS	1293	10	0	—	-----		

Sources:

- (i) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 454-56
- (ii) G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, p 23

TABLE 7:28 COMPARISON OF SUPERANNUATION SCALES AND BENEFIT EXPENDED BY TWELVE TRADE SOCIETIES, 1873

NAME OF SOCIETY	AGE OF ENTITLE- MENT	YEARS OF MEMBERSHIP AS QUALIFICATION FOR BENEFIT																	NUMBER OF SUPERANN' MEMBERS	SUPERANNUATION		
																				TOTAL PAID	ANNUAL AMOUNT	AVERAGE PER MEMBER
		3	5	10	12	15	18	20	21	24	25	30	35	40	£s	£s	s d					
Amalgamated Society of Engineers	50					7/-				8/-	9/-		10/-	454	89,856	9,487	4	5½				
Operative Stone Masons	Not spec.			4/-		6/-		8/-						184	8,036	2,639	4	5				
Boiler Makers & Iron Shipbuilders	55									4/-	5/-	6/-		103	6,817	1,122	1	9½				
Amalgamated Carpenters & Joiners	50					7/-				5/-				14	617	97	0	1½				
Ironfounders	60										3/6	4/6		193	28,257	2,171	3	8½				
Coach Makers	60						6/-			8/-		10/-		73	—	1,392	4	0				
South Yorkshire Miners	55				5/-	6/-	7/-		8/-					—	—	—	—	—				
Amalgamated Tailors	60				2/6			5/-						—	—	—	—	—				
Operative Carpenters of Great Britain and Ireland	60					5/-								—	—	—	—	—				
Associated Carpenters of Scotland	50			3/6		5/-								—	—	—	—	—				
G.B. Makers Amalgamated Association	50			3/-	5/-	6/-		7/-						—	—	—	—	—				
G.B. Makers of Yorkshire	Not spec.	3/-	5/-											9	101	438	2	1½				
G.B. Makers of Yorkshire (proposed)	45			4/-		5/-		6/-						—	—	—	—	—				

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 307.

The Rule to make it compatible with the graduated scheme of the A.S.E.³¹⁰
The E.C. were unable to undertake a simple revision on the desired lines as any alteration would not have contained provision for members of Society who were the unfortunate victims of sudden incapacity, and would, additionally, have wrought a fundamental change in The Rule regarding members' contributions which the E.C. was powerless to make without the sanction of the membership via the vote of the trade.³¹¹
The E.C., therefore, drafted three separate rules concerning superannuation, accident and contributions. Under the former members were to become entitled to benefit when 45 years of age and the newly proposed scale was 4s per week to members of 10 years standing, 5/3 per week for those in Society for 15 years and 6s per week for 20 years Society membership.³¹² No increase in contributions was proposed but disentitlement by members in arrears was proposed.³¹³ Placed before the members with the proviso that

"The Rules express some conditions which will no doubt be new to many of the members, which conditions, very likely, may be found of long-standing in some of the principal Trade Societies,"³¹⁴

the writer advocated that

"no new condition or qualification influence any member to reject the Rules. (for).....
Few Societies of similar dimensions as ours offer such benefits as these."³¹⁵

Despite such recommendation, the whole package was rejected by 193 votes to 97, figures which represented only 29% of the Society membership. Castleford Branch, the instigator of reform, returned only 6 votes in favour, compared to 69 against, with only 18% of the Branch membership voting on such a fundamental issue.³¹⁶ It was claimed by one Branch Delegate that the proposed Superannuation Rule was

"..... like a bunch of grapes hung out of reach of those for whom they were intended, but which became sour while looking up at them."³¹⁷

Alfred Greenwood pointed out in a subsequent Trade Address the inconsistency of Castleford Branch which presented with a Rule less restrictive than that requested, rejected it because it was thought to be too restraining.³¹⁸ Greenwood's position vis a vis proposed and actual changes in the Superannuation Rule is interesting for not only was he consistently critical of the existing scheme, but his

judgement was invariably shown to be sound. Why then was his opinion disregarded? The answer would appear to be that while Greenwood made his opinion known via the Central Secretary's remarks in the Quarterly Report, a combination of ignorance and prejudice arising from the innate conservatism of the rank and file made them incline towards traditional observation and wary, indeed often hostile, towards the measures advocated by the Executive Council, of which Greenwood was the chief instrument. Such an attitude would account for the apathy shown towards the proposed superannuation reform in 1873 and its consequent rejection. At the more exalted level of the Delegate Meeting or the Executive Council where his views would have obtained more serious consideration, Greenwood's position as Secretary confined him to a limited role without vote or voice in the decision-making of the Society.³¹⁹ The point was particularly apposite in the early 1870s when Greenwood was but recently appointed to the position of Central Secretary and striving to strengthen Society government along centralist 'New Model' lines without engendering hostility by overtly interfering in matters of policy.

The influence of other trade Societies, particularly the A.S.E., was noticable throughout the 1870s.³²⁰ The comparison with the Flint Glass Makers has already been detailed supra, revealing the favourable position of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers. By comparison of the details of twelve Societies (Table 7:28 supra) it will be seen that in the mid 1870s, although four leading Societies had a higher per capita expenditure on superannuation, only one of the twelve, the Stonemasons, had no specific age of benefit eligibility. Even those Societies with a greater per capita expenditure offered benefits of a scale well in advance of those which appertained to the Glass Bottle Makers' Society, while in every case the period of membership upon which the scale of benefit was based exceeded that of the Yorkshire Society.³²¹ The sharp increase in superannuation expenditure experienced by the Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire, in the early 1870s, together with the examples of high expenditure revealed by the Stone Masons and the Flint Glass Makers were influential in promoting the abortive attempt to reconstruct the Rule of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society. Even restricting comparison of superannuation eligibility to the more conservative 'traditionalist' regional bottle making Societies reveals the vulnerability of the Yorkshire Society for the Glasgow Glass Bottle Makers' Society, although like that of Yorkshire, having no specified age of eligibility, did insist on ten years membership before payment of 7s per

week, while the rival Lancashire Society observed 50 years as the age and five years consecutive membership as the basic qualification for benefit of 5s per week.³²² The same age of eligibility and a minimum of five years membership was the proposed rule for the second attempted amalgamation of regional bottle making Societies which was in process of formulation at the time.³²³ The lowest rate of benefit proposed was 3s per week, rising by three further increments to 7s per week for twenty years membership, but although, like the Yorkshire Society, provision was for life, unlike the Yorkshire Society, superannuated members were declared ineligible for benefit if income from additional sources totalled £1 per week for more.³²⁴ The prospective trend of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society may be seen in the table below, showing details of various Societies in the seventh year of their existence.

TABLE 7:29 COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP, AMOUNT EXPENDED AS SUPERANNUATION BENEFIT AND PER CAPITA COST, OF FOUR TRADE SOCIETIES IN THEIR SEVENTH YEAR OF EXISTENCE

DATE OF SEVENTH YEAR	NAME OF SOCIETY	AVERAGE NUMBER OF MEMBERS	ANNUAL AMOUNT SUPERANNUATION £s	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER
1857	A.S.E.	14,299	898	1s-3d
1858	IRONFOUNDERS	6,637	1150	3s-5½d
1859	FLINT GLASS MAKERS	1,722	137	2s-1½d
1872 ^(a)	YORKSHIRE G.B.Ms	878	111	2s-6½d

Sources:

(i) G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 309

(ii) F.G.M.M., Volume III, passim.

(a) Seventh year following establishment of 1865 Rule.

The Table shows that with the exception of the Ironfounders, the comparable position of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers at the end of their seventh year was inferior to all others at that stage of development. The case of the Flint Hands' Society, whose per capita expenditure on superannuation provision in 1872 stood at 6s-7½d, indicated an alarming prospect for the Yorkshire Society in view of the comparable conditions of eligibility. Even the example of the

Ironfounders was modified by the awareness of the Yorkshire officials that the Ironfounders' Society had been established for forty-three years before regular returns were made, hence the high number of superannuees requiring provision at such an early stage of development.³²⁵ A further indication of prospective difficulty concerning the Glass Bottle Makers' Society superannuation scheme may be seen by reference to Table 7:30 which shows the comparative superannuation details of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society and that of the Boilermakers' Society during the years 1867-73.

TABLE 7:30 COMPARISON OF MEMBERSHIP AND AMOUNT PAID AS SUPERANNUATION BENEFIT ANNUALLY AND PER CAPITA, BOILERMAKERS SOCIETY AND YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1867 - 1873

YEAR	BOILERMAKERS' SOCIETY			G.B. MAKERS' SOCIETY		
	ANNUAL AVERAGE MEMBERS	ANNUAL BENEFIT £s	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER	ANNUAL AVERAGE MEMBERS	ANNUAL BENEFIT £s	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER
1867	7405	507	1-4½	692	17	0-6
1868	6311	643	2-0½	720	19	0-6½
1869	6298	829	2-7½	759	46	1-2¾
1870	7261	1146	3-1¾	792	44	1-2½
1871	8983	1378	3-0¾	792	43	1-1
1872	11523	1192	2-0¾	878	111	2-6½
1873	13137	1122	1-8½	954	101	2-1½

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 309

The significant feature lies in the decreasing cost per member of the Society of Boilermakers after 1871 and the reverse situation with regard to the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers. In the case of the former group a large reserve of unorganised labour existed, forming the basis of potential membership growth, a fact clearly evident in the increased membership figures of 1872 and 1873. The Yorkshire Society, however, had almost attained a monopoly membership by that date which meant that its future membership growth was dependent upon the natural expansion of the container trade, and its financial resources upon a levy of existing members. A possible alternative was incorporation in the recently established amalgamation of regional bottlemaking societies, a step which had been rejected by the Yorkshire Society members.

By the 1870s, the Yorkshire Society and the Flint Glass Makers' Society were in a parallel position regarding superannuation benefit. Financial strain made revision of the schemes a necessity, but a substantial element of the membership of both Societies, aware that the destructive nature of the work caused incapacity and even death at an early age, desired easy access to the benefit, while at the same time insisting on rates of payment commensurate with the status and life style of high earning artisans.³²⁶ Reformist officials such as Greenwood also regarded superannuation provision in terms of status, not only Society status, but as a means of individual elevation. In advocating a less accessible scheme Greenwood could assert that

"It is an indisputable fact notwithstanding the vast improvement which has taken place during the last quarter of a century, that many amongst us shorten their lives very much by various means, but especially by intemperate habits, and the Society cannot be held responsible, nor yet be expected, to defray the cost of such destruction."³²⁷

Greenwood's opinion was that

"A moral standard must be fixed above the members generally and not below them, so as to raise them in the social scale. If there were no standard at all it is quite certain that they would degenerate."³²⁸

To this end

"..... a superannuated Rule should not be framed to meet cases where life is recklessly destroyed, but that it should be framed to meet cases of natural decay. We also think that it is necessary not only to put the Rule as it were above us, in order that it may tempt us to reach it by preserving our health and constitutions, but we believe also that by placing it below us, that it will, to a certain degree, act as a premium and have a tendency to cause us to be careless and indifferent about them."³²⁹

The reluctance to change the benefit rule was considered to be due to the fact that

".... very many members argue as though every member ought to receive more from the Society than he pays into it...."

Some accepted the need for careful husbandry and,

"..... advocate fixing the entrance fee of persons who enter the Society at a late period in life at a high rate in order to provide the means of paying them the superannuation they might claim."

But the Executive opinion was a

"..... long period of membership as the only sound principle for qualifying members to receive this benefit. It is a principle which will not only provide the means of supporting the benefit, but it will keep the members together when all others fail."³³⁰

The views expounded by Greenwood were given emphasis by the warning financial inadequacy for although

"Many persons argue as if a Trade Society should provide all that is necessary for its members' domestic comfort, but also for the requirements of their families. We feel such that the payment of one shilling a week will not do this.

Those members belonging to us who find our benefits insufficient, can easily get them supplemented by Insurance Societies..³³¹

The expression of this view not only provides an indication of the socio-economic status of the average glassmaker through its assumption of his capability to make additional premiums above the high contributions which characterised the unions of skilled artisans, but in its statement of the subordinate role of welfare provision within the context of trade union objectives. The attitude of the Executive of the Glass Bottle Makers, as expressed by their Central Secretary in 1874, presage the attitude of the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers as expressed by William Packwood a few years later. That the Societies had accumulated funds from which each could afford to satisfy the wish of many rank and file members for high benefit at low cost was undoubtably true, and in the case of the Flint Glass Makers' superannuation scheme, provided a supplemental

source of funding,³³² but as Greenwood stated

".... the point is argued as if the Society were proof against attacks from employers, and simply a Friendly Society. Perhaps they (i.e. members) calculate on the basis of the last fourteen years and lose sight altogether of the fact that had we passed through as many struggles as most of the other trades have done during this period, we should have found it difficult to maintain our present scale of benefits."³³³

Examination of the comparative data incorporated in Table 7:31 of the superannuation provision by both Societies of Glassmakers, clearly indicates the actuarial deficiencies of the originators of both schemes. The consequent liabilities arising from organisational deficiencies resulted in the restatement by Society officials of the primary aim of each Society (i.e. the pursuance of trade objectives rather than welfare provision). The latter, as ^{Hanson}Hobson has stated were merely an attractive sideline to gain prospective members at a time when other means of provision were minimal.³³⁴ By the mid 1870s external agencies were available for utilisation by craftsmen of high social and economic standing, such as the artisan glassmakers. The Societies to which they belonged faced with rising cost and affected by the downturn in trade prosperity, were of necessity compelled to undertake reorganisation of welfare benefits, particularly with regard to superannuation, in face of substantial opposition from an element of the membership.

(iii) Funeral Benefit.

The generally high rate of mortality in mid Victorian Britain, taken in conjunction with the low life expectancy amongst artisan glassmakers, made the funeral benefit one of the most important aspects of the welfare provision offered to their members by the trade societies.

The Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers made such provision from the outset, with £5 being paid to the widow of each deceased member, together with the refund of all monies contributed to Society funds, or otherwise due to the member at the time of death.³³⁵ The death of a member's wife was covered by payment of a £5 grant raised by levying the entire membership, while upon the death of a member's child between

TABLE 7:31 COMPARISON OF ANNUAL AMOUNTS SPENT ON SUPERANNUATION AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF YORKSHIRE G.B.M. AND F.G.M. SOCIETIES, 1867 - 1879

FLINT GLASS MAKERS				YORKSHIRE GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS			
YEAR	(A) TOTAL SOCIETY EXPENDITURE £ s d	(B) ANNUAL SUPERANNUATION EXPENDITURE £ s d	$\frac{(B)}{(A)} \times 100$	(A) TOTAL SOCIETY EXPENDITURE £ s d	(B) ANNUAL SUPERANNUATION EXPENDITURE £ s d	$\frac{(B)}{(A)} \times 100$	
1867	1474 16 11	468 2 6	31.7	1756 6 7	17 8 0	0.9	
1868	1051 9 4	486 17 0	46.2	2293 12 7	19 4 0	0.8	
1869	1212 11 10	490 18 8	40.4	936 16 11½	46 15 0	4.9	
1870	1120 10 10	547 7 6	48.8	1070 16 5½	44 14 0	2.2	
1871	1172 8 10	609 18 6	51.9	952 8 3	43 4 0	4.5	
1872	1105 14 6	626 9 6	62.2	2373 7 11½	111 13 0	4.6	
1873	1087 9 4	661 9 7	60.8	713 0 7½	101 9 0	14.1	
1874	1739 11 6	719 3 0	41.3	821 5 0½	94 8 0	11.4	
1875	1077 8 6	948 1 0	88.0	2059 1 11½	111 0 0	5.3	
1876	1203 19 4	1040 17 0	86.0	2896 3 0	99 7 0	3.4	
1877	1751 18 4	1256 2 3	71.7	5041 15 9	120 18 0	2.3	
1878	3267 6 0	1388 13 7	42.4	8419 15 2½	214 10 0	2.5	
1879	2702 8 6	1400 10 3	51.8	9457 1 1	215 5 0	2.2	
TOTALS							

Sources:

- (1) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 453 - 457 passim.
- (11) F.G.M.M. Quarterly Returns, 1867 - 1879 passim.

the ages of one month and fourteen years, £1 was granted from the accumulated funds of the Society.³³⁶ By 1853, the amount paid upon the death of a member had increased to £7, and in addition the Rules stated that

".... should a member's widow continue as a widow until her death, by paying funeral contributions she shall have a good coffin and the burying dues paid from the funds of the Society."³³⁷

During the period of the first Amalgamation of regional bottlemaking Societies, the death grant of £10 was observed, the widows' 'funeral gift' being secured by payment of one shilling per annum.³³⁸ The rules of the United Society provide an important indication concerning status awareness by the craft fraternity stipulating

"That should any member of this Society die, and he having no wife or near relations, the Society shall take upon themselves to inter their deceased brother in a respectable manner, but not to go beyond the sum of £10."³³⁹

The provisions above continued to be observed by the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society upon its reversion to regional self-containment in 1862,³⁴⁰ but an additional grant of £2 was introduced, payable on the death of a member's child between 7 and 14 years of age.³⁴¹ The 1865 Rules stipulated

"That at the death of a member a levy of one shilling shall be paid by each member, and shall be given to the deceased member's widow, providing she keeps his widow three months, besides the funeral gift."³⁴²

The death benefit paid by the Flint Glass Makers' Society was an integral part of the Society's general expenditure during the first decade following reorganisation. In 1858 a separate Death Fund was established, open to all Society members at an additional cost of 3d per week.³⁴³ By 1867, the £5 payable to a widow or next of kin was increased to £10, while the same sum payable to a member upon the death of his wife continued to be drawn from the General Fund of the Society.³⁴⁴ Matsumura has calculated that 594 persons received funeral allowance from the Flint Glass Makers' funds between 1858

and 1882.³⁴⁵ Table 7:32 shows the position within the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society during the period 1866 - 1880.

TABLE 7:32 NUMBER OF GRANTS TO WIDOWS AND ANNUAL COST TO YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1866 - 1880

YEAR	NUMBER OF GRANTS	ANNUAL AMOUNT £s
1866	2	67
1867	3	93
1868	3	78
1869	1	26
1870	4	127
1871	4	128
1872	5	152
1873	7	210
1874	6	180
1875	5	150
1876	6	180
1877	6	180
1878	7	210
1879	6	180
1880	4	90
TOTALS	69	2051

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, pp 32 - 33

The average number of claims shown in the Table was 4.6 per annum at an average annual cost of £136. Of the total expenditure of £2,051 the individual amounts varied, being between £26 and £33 during the years 1866-70, and £32 for each of the eight claims made between December 1870 and February 1872. From May 1872, at the instigation of Alfred Greenwood,³⁴⁶ and following a Trade Vote, the amount of the Grant was permanently equalised at £30.³⁴⁷ With the equalisation the grant became payable from the centralised funds of the Society and the district administered levy was discontinued.³⁴⁸ Claims made on behalf of individual branch members are shown in Table 7:33 (infra).

Table 7:34 gives details of the annual amounts expended by the F.G.M. Society as Funeral Benefit. The sharp increase of 1874, when expenditure rose by 33.4%, was followed by an increase of almost 20.0% the year after. As a result the Society introduced a graduated scheme from 1876, with £5 being granted on the basis of one year's membership,

TABLE 7:33 NUMBER OF GRANTS AND ANNUAL AMOUNTS PAID TO EACH
DISTRICT OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY AS
WIDOWS BENEFIT 1866 - 1880

BRANCHES	NUMBER OF CLAIMS	AMOUNTS PAID		
		£	s	d
Castleford	24	715	10	0
Swinton	8	239	0	0
Hunslet	8	233	10	0
Thornhill Lees	16	476	0	0
York	1	33	0	0
Ferrybridge	3	90	0	0
Wakefield	2	60	0	0
Barnsley	1	32	0	0
Conisbro	4	122	0	0
Masbro	1	30	0	0
Stairfoot 2nd	1	20	0	0
TOTALS	69	2051	0	0

Sources:

- (i) G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, pp 32 - 33
- (ii) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 169.

TABLE 7:34

TABLE 7:34 ANNUAL AMOUNT AND PER CAPITA COST OF FUNERAL BENEFIT
PAID BY F.G.M. SOCIETY, 1866 - 1880.

YEAR	FUNERAL BENEFIT PER ANNUM			AVERAGE COST PER SOCIETY MEMBER		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1866	181	10	0	2	2	
1867	286	0	0	3	4½	
1868	306	6	10	3	7½	
1869	323	0	2	3	9	
1870	287	3	4	3	3	
1871	374	11	8	4	2	
1872	352	13	4	3	0½	
1873	268	6	8	2	0¾	
1874	403	0	0	4	2	
1875	503	13	4	5	0½	
1876	376	0	0	3	7	
1877	368	6	8	3	0½	
1878	379	11	8	3	8½	
1879	421	6	8	4	1¾	
1880	306	6	8	3	1½	
TOTAL	5137	17	0			

Source: F.G.M M. Quarterly Accounts, 1866 - 1880 passim.

and £10 for two years and upward in the case of deceased members, with sums of £3 and £6 for corresponding periods, payable upon the death of the widow of a deceased member.³⁴⁹ The economic burden imposed by generous provision of Funeral Benefit and Widow's Grant is also clearly seen by reference to Table 7:35 showing annual expenditure by the G.B.M. Society throughout the period 1867 - 1880. Here a greater degree of fluctuation is evident in the annual sums expended. Nevertheless, the natural increase in membership produced a generally rising tendency which is clearly testified by the per capita costs. By the end of the period, the G.B.M. Society, despite the obvious desire to ensure for deceased members a degree of dignity in death which was compatible to their observed life status, were compelled to ^aeffect economies. As a result, in 1880, the Widows' Grant was reduced from £30 to £10, a sum which despite ^{the} ~~its~~ ^{cut} swingeing nature, was still well in excess of that granted by the flint hands. The comparative position of both Societies and the trends which promoted the need for revision of Funeral Benefit is shown by Table 7:36.

Throughout the entire period, the F.G.M. Society despite its considerably larger membership practised greater economy in its disbursement of Funeral Benefit. Despite this, the F.G.M. Society experienced an increase in benefit expenditure of 27.1% during the years 1871-75, while the G.B.M. Society, during the same period, saw their expenditure rise by a staggering 54.2%, so that although the per capita cost to members of the F.G.M. Society increased by 20% over the five year period, the cost to each member still remained almost 3 shillings per head lower than that appertaining to the members of the G.B.M. Society, some five years before. The revisionary measures adopted by each Society as a result of the sharp rise in expenditure is seen in the figures for the period 1876 - 1880, with each Society obtaining a reduction of between 2 - 3% in total expenditure. Nevertheless, the reductions merely represented a financial stabilisation, for although contributions obtained from increased memberships helped defray per capita expenditure, membership growth also implied the need for increased benefit provision and the threat of future financial destabilisation. This was particularly the case with the G.B.Ms where membership had increased by 21.2% on average during the period 1871-75 and by 16.2% during the following five years, compared to the lesser growth of 9.6% and 6.7% of the F.G.M. Society. Furthermore, it must be noted that the F.G.M. Society's benefit per member

TABLE 7:35 ANNUAL AMOUNT AND PER CAPITA COST OF FUNERAL AND WIDOWS GRANTS PAID BY YORKSHIRE
G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1867 - 1880

YEAR	(A)			(B)			(C)			COST PER MEMBER	% $\frac{(B)}{(A)} \times 100$
	FUNERAL BENEFIT £ s d			WIDOWS GRANT £ s d			TOTAL EXPENDITURE £ s d				
1867	115	0	0	93	0	0	208	0	0	6 0	44.7
1868	133	0	0	78	0	0	211	0	0	5 10 $\frac{1}{4}$	36.9
1869	123	0	0	26	0	0	149	0	0	3 11	17.4
1870	143	0	0	127	0	0	270	0	0	6 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	47.0
1871	166	0	0	128	0	0	294	0	0	7 5	43.5
1872	245	0	0	152	0	0	397	0	0	9 0	38.2
1873	133	0	0	210	0	0	343	0	0	7 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	61.2
1874	189	0	0	180	0	0	369	0	0	7 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	48.7
1875	280	0	0	150	0	0	430	0	0	8 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	34.8
1876	153	0	0	180	0	0	333	0	0	5 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	54.0
1877	201	0	0	180	0	0	381	0	0	6 8 $\frac{1}{4}$	47.2
1878	259	0	0	210	0	0	469	0	0	8 10	44.7
1879	172	0	0	180	0	0	352	0	0	6 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	51.1
1880	167	0	0	90	0	0	257	0	0	4 10	35.0
TOTALS	2479	0	0	1984	0	0	4463	0	0	£4 14 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	43.6

Sources:

- (1) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 454 - 456
(11) G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, pp 32 - 33

TABLE 7:36 COMPARISON OF AMOUNTS EXPENDED AS FUNERAL BENEFIT AND PER CAPITA COST BY F.G.M. AND YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETIES DURING QUINQUENNIAL PERIODS, 1867 - 1880

YEARS	GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS			FLINT GLASS MAKERS		
	TOTAL BENEFIT	AVERAGE NUMBER MEMBERS	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER	TOTAL BENEFIT	AVERAGE NUMBER MEMBERS	AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER
	£ s d		£ s d	£ s d		£ s d
1867 - 1870	838 0 0	740	1 2 7½	1384 0 4	1720	16 1
1871 - 1875	1833 0 0	940	1 19 0	1902 5 0	1903	19 11¾
1876 - 1880	1792 0 0	1122	1 11 11¼	1851 11 8	2040	18 1½
TOTALS	4463 0 0	—	—	5137 17 0	—	—

Sources:

- (i) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 453 - 456
- (ii) F.G.M.M. Quarterly Accounts, 1867 - 1880 passim.

was only half that granted by the Yorkshire Society, while the sum payable to a member of the G.B.M. Society upon the loss of his wife was paid from the Society's General Fund and was five times larger than the sum paid to widows of flint glass makers. In addition, the F.G.M. Society made no benefit provision for the loss of children of its members. Taking these factors into consideration it is clear that the nature and scale of the Funeral Benefit afforded by the G.B.M. Society was far more extensive than that of the F.G.M. Society.

TABLE 7:37 SCALES OF FUNERAL BENEFIT PAID BY EIGHT PROMINENT TRADE SOCIETIES, CIRCA 1880

NAME OF SOCIETY	AMOUNT OF BENEFIT	
	MEMBER	WIFE
Amalgamated Engineers	12	5
Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners	12	5
Boiler Makers and Iron Shipbuilders	12	6
Ironfounders	10	5
London Compositors	15	5
Amalgamated Taylors	6	4
Typographical Association	10	NIL
Steam Engine Makers	12	6

Source: Howell G. 'Trade Unionism New and Old', p 99

Table 7:37 shows the G.B.M. Society's scale of donation compared favourably with the funeral provision for members of the much larger New Model trade societies, while the payment of £30 to widows under the terms of the 24th Rule of the G.B.M. Society was apparently unique in its extent and of such magnitude that when, in 1880, it was reduced by financial necessity to £10, the sum remained well in advance of that paid by any other trade society.

By 1879, expenditure by the G.B.M. Society per 24th Rule (Widows Grant) was in excess of 51.1% of total expenditure on Funeral Benefit, despite the fact that rising unemployment during the closing years of the decade had resulted in a considerable number of members becoming ineligible for benefit through arrears of contributions.³⁵⁰ It is noteworthy that Greenwood and his Executive Council not only regarded

the withholding of membership contributions as a justifiable dis-entitlement to benefit, but as a factor resulting in the social debasement of the Society and its members, as expressed in Rule 3 of the 1865 Code of Rules.³⁵¹ Such opinion may well have been influenced by the Executive awareness of abuse of the 24th Rule by some claimants. Greenwood regarded the widows grant as

".... a benefit which should have been prized by every member's wife and widow and indeed by every member too, but especially by all married members. But, alas, like every good thing, it has been shamefully abused by some whose guilt has become apparent after the money has been paid, when, unfortunately there were no means of making the offenders repay it."³⁵²

The range of the abuse was not revealed, though it was stated as being ".... to a far greater extent than is known or can be conveniently proven...."³⁵³

Such misuse of benefit facilities was not merely "a good thing abused" but "may eventually prove too much, as it is very likely to do, for a Society of such dimensions as ours to uphold," a prospect which led Greenwood to the conclusion that

".... our experience in regard to the dispensation of this benefit most assuredly inclines us to the conclusion that it would have been better for the members in general had not such a benefit been introduced and established."³⁵⁴

Nevertheless, the very fact of its establishment is evidence of the socio-economic status of the G.B.M. The F.G.M. may have justifiably prided themselves on their superior craftsmanship, (although such craft superiority was not applicable to the sphere of bottle production) and even on occasion led themselves to believe in the superiority of their trade organisation. In reality, the financial status of the G.B.M. Society was far more pronounced than that of its rival, a fact most clearly emphasised in the provision of Funeral Benefit.

(iv) Sickness Benefit.

The provision of sickness benefit was an early feature of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society. The earliest code of rules stipulated

"If any member belonging to this Society shall stand in need of support from sickness, or is unable through misfortune to work, he shall be allowed the sum of nine shillings per week; but if he works a little during his illness and does not receive the sum of nine shillings for his work, then the said sum which he receives shall be made up to nine shillings out of the funds of the Society."³⁵⁵

From this it will be seen that even in the infancy of the Yorkshire trade the founders of the Union sought not only to provide financial relief for sick or injured members, but to maintain such relief at a level commensurate with the status of skilled craftsmen. The evolution of the Society on a County-wide basis resulted in the reconstruction of the benefit clause and by 1853 the Rule stated

"That each member of this Society when sick, providing he be in compliance, shall receive the sum of ten shillings per week for six months; should he continue sick beyond that time he shall receive five shillings per week for six months longer; and, if then unable to follow his employment, his case shall be considered by the Committee."³⁵⁶

The exhaustion of Society funds, as a result of the 1856 Lock-Out, brought an end to the benefit afforded to members,³⁵⁷ but in late 1859 when the Yorkshire Society joined the Amalgamation of regional bottlemaking Societies, a Glass Bottle Makers Friendly Society was established within the County and all the funds of the United Trade Protection Society were given to the appointed committee of the Friendly Society to form the nucleus for sickness and burial benefit. All Yorkshire glass hands were given the option of joining the Friendly Society, the rules of which were enrolled and registered under the Friendly Societies Act.³⁵⁸ Sickness benefit was henceforth administered separately from the other trade benefits of the Society and although the benefit continued throughout the entire existence of the Society, details were not featured in the Quarterly Reports and the want of data renders analysis impossible.³⁵⁹

In contrast to the Glass Bottle Makers, the Flint Glass Makers' Society

made no provision for the payment of sickness benefit until the mid 1860s. In 1864 a series of proposals concerning the establishment of such benefit featured in the Magazine and culminated in the proposal by the Central Committee that sickness benefit be introduced.³⁶⁰ The proposal met with considerable opposition from rank and file members, many of whom already belonged to existing schemes and saw no value accruing to the Society from the establishment of a sick club. Consequently the proposal of the Central Committee was accepted by the narrowest of margins when put to the Trade Vote.³⁶¹ The determination of the Executive to extend the range of the Society's welfare benefit provision in the face of considerable opposition must be considered in the context of the period, when all leading trade Societies were anxious to emphasise their welfare provision as a means of obtaining public approbation. Closer examination reveals, however, an under-lying consideration in the case of the Flint Glass Makers' Executive, namely, the adoption of an affective measure to obtain the maximum possible income from membership subscriptions. The Central Committee argued that unlike unemployment, the advent of which was made sufficiently predictable by the gradual downturn in trade to enable repayment of contributions in time to permit members in arrear to obtain benefit, sickness could strike with little or no warning.

"We believe that if sick benefit depends upon members being clear on the books, few at present in arrears would allow their names to remain so."³⁶²

Nevertheless, the 'sick club' was eventually established as an optional benefit and, like that of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers, administered separately from the benefits of the 'trades section', participants in the scheme paying an additional contribution of 3d per week. The format of the adopted scheme represented a compromise on the part of the Central Committee between the desire for social prestige through the extension of benefit facilities and the fear that the indifference and even opposition shown by a substantial element of the membership would result in withdrawal from the Society or the further accumulation of arrears if the contributions necessary to sustain the proposed benefit were made binding on all Society members.³⁶³ The rate of sickness allowance was equal to the highest scale of unemployment allowance, a fact which resulted in some abuse of the system as members on lower rates of unemployment donation transferred to sickness benefit in order to obtain maximum benefit. Con-

sequently, the amount of sickness benefit rose by 75% from £772 in 1866 to £1024 the following year, representing an increase in the average annual cost per member of Society of three shillings (cf Table 7:38 infra). The transcendence of the boundaries between the optional sick club and the trade-based unemployment benefit resulted in the incorporation of sickness benefit into the trade benefit section at the time of the 1867 Conference. The 1867 Code of Rules resulted in the equalisation of sickness and unemployment benefit at the rates shown below:

12 shillings per week for 13 weeks,

10 shillings per week for 13 weeks,

8 shillings per week for 26 weeks,

6 shillings per week for 26 weeks,

5 shillings per week for 26 weeks

with footmakers receiving two thirds of the above rate in accordance with their contributions.³⁶⁴ Transference was prohibited while the abuse of working part of a week and declaring sick and obtaining a full week's benefit was also obviated.³⁶⁵ The combination of trade depression and arrears of contributions resulted in an all round reduction of one shilling shortly after 1867.

Table 7:38 shows the situation in annual terms and reveals a gradual fall in expenditure between 1868 and 1872, partly as a result of the benefit reduction mentioned above and partly in consequence of favourable trade conditions with the prospect thus afforded for regular employment at enhanced wage rates. By 1872, however, the flint glass industry witnessed a downturn in trade which accelerated the cost of sickness benefit as artisans with less to lose in consequence of irregular work and debased wage levels more readily declared themselves sick and were placed upon the funds of the Society. By 1875, when the annual expenditure in Sickness Benefit exceeded the level of all but one year during the previous decade, Thomas Barnes of Manchester District, was contending that the deficiencies of the Sick Club were likely to cause the ruin of the Society. The charge, which echoes the expressed fears of Alfred Greenwood concerning the Death Grants by the G.B.M. Society, drew a defensive response from the C.C. of the Flint Glass Makers' Society.³⁶⁷ The opinion expressed by Barnes resulted, however, in a tightening-up of benefit administration which occasioned a reduction of expenditure between 1877 - 1880. Yet despite the economies, the deepening trade recession, with its accom-

TABLE 7:38 ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF THE F.G.M. SOCIETY AND PER
CAPITA COST, 1866 - 1880

YEAR	ANNUAL BENEFIT PAID			ANNUAL AVERAGE COST PER MEMBER		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1866	772	2	4	9	1	$\frac{3}{4}$
1867	1024	9	6	12	1	
1868	914	0	3	10	9	$\frac{1}{2}$
1869	832	3	3	9	7	$\frac{3}{4}$
1870	831	11	3	9	4	$\frac{1}{4}$
1871	667	4	6	7	5	$\frac{1}{4}$
1872	706	7	9	7	5	
1873	794	19	5	8	4	$\frac{1}{2}$
1874	979	15	10 $\frac{1}{2}$	10	1	$\frac{1}{2}$
1875	1020	18	4	10	2	
1876	1043	10	4	9	11	$\frac{1}{2}$
1877	750	11	4	7	2	$\frac{1}{2}$
1878	808	18	6	7	11	
1879	690	5	3	6	9	$\frac{3}{4}$
1880	328	15	8 (a)	3	4	
TOTAL	12166	3	6 $\frac{1}{2}$			

Source: F.G.M.M. Quarterly Accounts, 1866 - 1880 passim.

(a) The total for 1880 is for $\frac{3}{4}$ of the year only, Sickness Benefit being suspended after the third quarter of that year.

panying levels of high unemployment, resulted in the suspension of Sickness Benefit in September 1880. Thus, in parallel with the G.B.M. Society, the F.G.M. Society found that the contributory income was incapable of sustaining the welfare benefits which were hitherto a practical manifestation of individual status and collective prestige.

(v) -'Strike Allowance'.

The impact of changing industrial relations,³⁶⁸ frequently necessitated strike action by members of each Society in the attempt to maintain customary observances within the trade. Financial provision to sustain members obliged to undertake militant action was fundamental to the attainment of trade objectives which constituted the *raison d'être* of the Societies, but overt acknowledgement of such provision stood in sharp contrast to the image 'New Model' Societies sought to cultivate during the third quarter of the nineteenth century. It is not surprising, therefore, that both Societies of glassmakers sought to obscure dispensation of 'strike money'. The Flint Glass-Makers for instance, at the instigation of its Central Committee, abandoned its strike fund in 1854 when it was absorbed into the unemployment allowance.³⁶⁹ The more militant Glass Bottle Makers' Society made separate provision of strike allowance but regarded the existence of a 'strike fund' as a necessary response to ensure the maintenance of trade privileges in face of the assault by the manufacturers on the customary observances of the trade and for the protection of members compelled to resist the encroachments of their employers. Positive discrimination was a feature of the financial provision made by the Yorkshire Society for the recipients of 'strike money'. At the Special Delegate Meeting, held in Manchester in 1851, between the representatives of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Glass Bottle Makers' Societies, it was proposed

"That should any member lose his employment through oppression, or for anything connected with the Rules of this Society, he shall receive the sum of 12/- per week; but if in case he gets work at any other business, his wages shall be made up into eighteen shillings per week out of the Society."³⁷⁰

The provision was incorporated into the Rules of 1885.³⁷¹

The 'United' Society of 1858 provided for the payment of full journeyman wages "according to the capacity they fill at work"³⁷² but the Rules of the Society redrafted the following year stipulated

"That if any member or members of this Society shall be locked out for being or taking a leading part in any strike or cause in the affairs of the Society, he or they being picked at by their employers shall receive 30/- per week until he gets work....."³⁷³

With the reformation of the Yorkshire Society as a separate entity in 1862, a reversion to full wages paid from Society funds took place,³⁷⁴ and this system was confirmed by the Code of 1865.²⁷⁵

TABLE 7:39 ANNUAL AMOUNT EXPENDED ON THE MAINTAINANCE OF TRADE PRIVILEGES AND PROTECTION BY THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY AND PER CAPITA COST, 1867 - 1880

YEAR	ANNUAL AMOUNT SPENT RE TRADE PRIVILEGES			AVERAGE ANNUAL COST PER MEMBER OF SOCIETY			% OF ANNUAL INCOME
	£	s	d	£	s	d	
1867	79	6	5½		2	3	3.5
1868	477	18	7		13	3½	16.2
1869	23	4	7		0	7½	0.9
1870	221	12	3½		5	7	11.3
1871	79	18	0		2	0	3.8
1872	0	0	0		0	0	0.0
1873	0	0	0		0	0	0.0
1874	0	0	0		0	0	0.0
1875	184	7	7		3	5½	4.5
1876	1775	15	0	1	11	8½	43.9
1877	3629	18	5	3	3	9½	52.7
1878	3881	0	0	3	7	5½	61.0
1879	4314	18	0	3	15	1½	119.8
1880	3053	3	6	2	17	6½	96.9
TOTALS	17721	2	5	18	13	1½	37.1

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 454 - 456 passim.

Table 7:39 shows that between 1867 and 1880 the Glass Bottle Makers' Society expended the sum of £17,721 at an average cost per member of £18-13-1½d. The annual expenditure fluctuated considerably during the

period 1867-71, with substantial increases taking place during years 1869 and 1870 when disruption of trade occurred in consequence of strikes undertaken to procure increased wages. The period of negative expenditure between 1872 and 1875, coincided with the second phase of boom in the container trade, and the introduction of uniform wage and output levels throughout the County. By 1876 the advent of trade depression resulted in the enforced reduction of wages and further reduction occurred in 1878 against a background of concerted action by the Yorkshire manufacturers to encroach upon customary workshop practices. As a result, 93.9% of the total expenditure spent in the maintenance of trade privileges throughout the fourteen year period was spent during the years 1876-1880. The maximum expenditure occurred in 1879 when 700 journeymen were locked out by their employers in an attempt to enforce a further reduction in wage levels at a time when 300 workmen were already unemployed due to the severe depression of trade. In 1879 expenditure on maintenance of trade privileges and protection of personnel affected by militant action was £715 more than the Society's entire annual income and it was only the substantial accumulated funds which prevented the financial collapse of the Society during the years 1878 - 1880, when adverse balances occurred in the Society's annual income and expenditure.

(vi) Benevolent Fund.

The Flint Glass Makers' Benevolent Fund, established in 1859, was used for the sole purpose of inter-union assistance. The Society had no formalised system to assist financially distressed members and their families who were confined to use of the Magazine as a vehicle for advertising 'prize draws' of personal belongings in an effort to raise money.³⁷⁶ Occasionally individual appeals for voluntary subscriptions were made on behalf of deceased members' families but such examples are rare.³⁷⁷ The Glass Bottle Makers observed the customary appeal to the Trade by individual members who by reason of age or incapacity were unable to follow their trade, or on behalf of widows and families of deceased members, each case being restricted to a single application. In the case of incapacitated and infirm artisans, the purpose of voluntary subscription appeals was frequently to enable them to start up in a small business.³⁷⁸ Turner,³⁷⁹ and Musson³⁸⁰ have each cited examples of some local branches of trade unions lending money to out of work members for such a purpose, and there is at least one instance in the history of the Flint Glass Makers' Society in which money was loaned for the establishment of

a small glass works by two out of work artisans.³⁸¹ The Yorkshire Glass Makers, however, were resolutely against either loans or the establishment of businesses within the ambit of the trade.³⁸² The ad-hoc organisation of voluntary subscriptions, undertaken at branch level not only minimised the effect of the general response but rendered the system open to abuse which undermined the objectives of the Society. The Reports of the Glass Bottle Makers records a case in which a member of Castleford Branch, having being out of work for several weeks, requested a subscription to enable him to leave the district trade. Upon receipt of a liberal subscription, however, the recipient proceeded to Mexbro and obtained a job in a non-society firm, offering to bind himself for several years in the process.³⁸³ The elimination of abuse through the exercise of central control resulted in 1868, in the Glass Bottle Makers' Society referring all appeals via Central Office for consideration and approval by the Delegate Meeting. Deserving cases were then recommended to the rank and file through publication of case details in the Quarterly Report.³⁸⁴ Despite the invocation of centralised apparatus, the system remained haphazard and inequitable. Members well known throughout the trade frequently elicited a more favourable response than was the case of the less well known, although their circumstances were generally no more deserving. The most influential factor, however, was the condition of trade at the time benevolent appeals were launched, for bad trade and high unemployment levels eroded willingness and ability to contribute or at best protracted the period for contribution.³⁸⁵ In 1874, the Benevolent Appeals were compared to Chancery Suits and it was stated that

"..... it would require an omniscient infinitely wise being to know when the Appeal would be responded to."³⁸⁶

As a result of chaotic branch administration delays frequently occurred and it was claimed

"Subscriptions have been made in some branches and the money handed over to the persons on whose behalf the subscriptions have been made and it has been impossible to ascertain the amounts subscribed. In other cases, part of the moneys have been sent to the Central Secretary and part paid to the members themselves or their relatives; and in other cases part has been sent to the Branch Secretaries, who

have paid it to the members for whom it
had been subscribed."³⁸⁷

TABLE 7:40 NUMBER OF BENEVOLENT APPEALS BY DISTRICTS OF THE
YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY AND AMOUNTS SUBSCRIBED
1862 - 1882

BRANCH	NUMBER OF APPEALS	TOTAL SUBSCRIBED		
		£	s	d
Castleford	22	264	17	0½
Hunslet	3	50	17	7
Thornhill Lees	5	31	19	10½
Swinton	4	24	11	7½
Barnsley	2	39	3	1½
Wakefield	2	3	18	5
Masbro	1	4	3	1
TOTALS	39	419	8	9

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, p 26

Table 7:40 shows the number of benevolent appeals made by individual members of each branch of the trade during the period December 1868 and April 1882, when the scheme was reformed. The Table reveals an average of £10-15-1d per applicant, although as noted, individual sums varied appreciably according to prevailing circumstances when each appeal was launched.

The annual breakdown shown in Table 7:41 provides a general indication of the condition of the trade during each of the fifteen years featured. The annual average of £27-19-3d should be viewed in the context of variable response. Thus, although the good response of 1874-75 and the less than average response in the years 1880-82, reflect the general pattern of trade, anomalies do occur, even within the two periods. In 1879, for instance, the worst year of trade depression, it will be seen that a single appeal by a Castleford Branch artisan, and prominent union activist, raised £16-10-11d.³⁸⁸ Conversely, the appeal by another artisan member of the same Branch, launched in time of trade prosperity in 1873, brought in less than a quarter of the former amount,³⁸⁹ although the existence of several simultaneous appeals may have been a mitigatory factor. Nevertheless, the tendency was for appeals to be best supported by the artisans 'home' branch and therefore reflect by the response, the

TABLE 7:41 NUMBER OF VOLUNTARY BENEVOLENT SUBSCRIPTIONS AND AMOUNTS DONATED BY MEMBERS OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, 1868 - 1882

YEAR	No OF APPEALS PER ANNUM	TOTAL SUBSCRIBED £ s d			GENERAL STATE OF TRADE
1868	1	10	1	7	Moderate
1869	2	33	8	1	Moderate
1870	1	8	11	1	Moderate
1871	2	27	18	9	Bad - Improving
1872	5	40	9	8	Moderate
1873	4	32	11	9	Good
1874	3	61	6	6	Good
1875	4	74	7	4	Good
1876	4	42	1	6	Moderate
1877	3	25	6	11	Bad
1878	4	34	8	4	Bad
1879	1	16	10	11	Bad
1880	3	17	7	5	Bad
1881	4	15	4	9½	Improving
1882	2	13	11	5½	Moderate
TOTALS	39	419	8	9	

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVIII, p 26.

attitude of the local membership towards the beneficiary. Aware of the shortcomings of the voluntary system with its frequent failure to permanently eliminate individual distress, and the implications of such failure for the social status of distressed members, as well as the reputation of the Society, Greenwood and his E.C. sought to introduce a standardised and centrally administered benefit. From 1874, the establishment of a 'Benevolent and Contingent Fund' was urged, based upon "clearly defined rules and sound principles."³⁹⁰ More than eight years were to lapse, however, before the experience of wide-spread distress sufficiently conditioned the rank and file to appreciate the necessity for the introduction of such welfare provision, a fact indicative of the general downturn in the socio-economic condition during the ^eintrin period.

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CHAPTER SEVEN: Trade Union Structure & Centralism 1861 - 1880

1. G.B.M.Y.U.T.P. Society Rules 1906, Preface p XIII.
2. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, Article XIV, p 454 and Article XXIII, p 468 and p 471.
3. Ibid, Rule 23 (1865) p 168.
4. Ibid, Rules 6 and 7 (1862) p 466.
5. Ibid.
6. Castleford Branch had by far the largest membership and was geographically situated at the centre of the County. It was also close to the important railway junction of Normanton which provided a convenient venue for all delegates representing the districts of the trade.
7. Op cit, Rule 8 (1862) p 469.
8. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 38; also Council Minute Book, entry 1st October 1867.
9. G.B.M. Reports, Volume X, pp 121 - 124.
In an obituary to S.A. Parkin, himself a previous Central Secretary, Alfred Greenwood records that he was advised by Parkin to move from Hunslet to Castleford in order to further his career within the Union. Greenwood's predecessor as Central Secretary, William Bagley, also was attracted to Castleford as a young man and rapidly advanced his career through movement in the union of Hodkin opcit, p 26N.
10. Matsumura T., op cit, p 144, states that between December 1835 and July 1837, 615 tramps were relieved by the F.G.M's Society at a cost of £352 being 43.7% of Society expenses which totalled £805. At the same time, 32 sporadic strikes occurred on which a further 17.7% of Society income was expended.
11. Webb T.U Collection MSS, p 238.
12. Matsumura T, op cit, p 153. Also F.G.M.M. Volume IV p 556.

13. Webb T.U. Collection MSS, p 213. F.G.M.M. Volume II, p 107.
14. Matsumura op cit p 154.
15. Ibid.
16. F.G.M.F. Society Rules and Regulations Revised and Corrected June 1867. Printed as frontispiece to F.G.M.M. Volume V, 1863 - 1867.
17. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 164. Rule 2, sub section 1. (1965).
18. Ibid, Rule 3 (1865).
19. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 248 and Volume VIII, p 59.
20. Ibid.
21. The establishment of the Executive Council responsible for day to day affairs of the Society, necessitated the appointment of a President on an annual basis who could affix his signature and seal to Society business. Previously the custom was to elect an official to preside over each separate meeting of the Delegates. The first permanent President was S.A. Parkin, formerly Castleford Branch Secretary and Corresponding Secretary to the Society cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume XI p 416. The first Central Treasurer was Thomas Beedle cf Council Minute Book entry 1st October 1867.
22. The five districts of the Yorkshire Trade were Castleford, Hunslet, Thornhill Lees, Swinton and York. Ferrybridge and Wakefield Branches formed part of Castleford District, while Masbro, Conisbro, Mexbro, Barnsley and Kilnhurst were incorporated into the Swinton District cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 217.
23. The attitude and desire of the 'New Model' Progressives, is evident from Alfred Greenwood's words to the newly-formed Rules Committee of which as the then Hunslet District Secretary, he was a member.

"Legislation by Resolution should be abolished, and a Code of General Rules be framed for the Government of the Society, which, if found imperfect should continue in force until another revision takes place..... If the Rules are being continually altered, it will become impossible to distinguish the proper Regulations and unless the Society is prepared to adopt advanced principles and establish Rules the work had better be left alone".

G.B.M. Society Rules, 1906, Preface, p XIII.

24. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
25. Ibid, p 34.
26. Ibid, p 31.
27. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 64.
28. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 159.
29. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 458.
30. Ibid.
31. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 38 - 39.
32. Ibid, p 3-4 and pp 34-39 Council Minute Book, entry 1st October 1867.
33. Ibid, p 31 for reprint of resolution from Report 12th June 1865, establishing mutual acceptance of free members of the Yorkshire and Lancashire Bottle Makers' Societies, each Society being responsible for the funeral benefit of its members for a period of six months after leaving their respective counties. The formal Agreement of 1867 extended the scheme to include tramp relief cf Ibid, pp 43 - 45.
34. Council Minute Book, entry 6th October 1875, Rule 27 made the District Committee the arbiter of individual terms of acceptance cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 168 - 169.

35. Ibid, pp 171 - 172. Rule 44 of the 1865 Code invested the adjudication of charges and appeals in "a full meeting" of the members whose decision was final. The rule was never rescinded, but it was customary for the Delegate Meeting to act as the court of appeal. The establishment of the Council resulted in appeals being considered by that body and frequent appeals being referred to one governing body against the judgement of the other. In 1869, the Delegate Meeting sought to divert itself of the duty and suggested appeals be directed to the district committees. The suggestion was regarded as "contrary to the Society's interests" by the Council which established an Appeals Committee under Council aegis in October 1869. The Committee consisted of three Council nominees, elected by Trade Vote, one member retiring each quarter. All appeals were heard quarterly having first been submitted by the Branch Secretaries to the Central Secretary.
- Ibid, p 409. Also, Volume III p 136.
36. The Arbitration Committee was suggested by Conisbro Branch in 1868 cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 34. The Delegates referred the matter to the membership which voted in favour of the suggestion by 253 to 28, Ibid p 31. The E.C. then appointed a ten member committee consisting of branch representatives to be responsible to the Council for its proceedings cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 84 - 85.
37. The Resolution of 12th September 1867, curbing the Delegate Meeting and the Council, resulted in a wide interpretation by the then Central Secretary, William Bagley, regarding the submission of business to the Delegate Meeting. Under Bagley a cumbersome system was observed by which material sent to the Central Secretary was placed on a proposed Agenda, copies of which were then submitted to the Branches for discussion and voting before being re-submitted, together with Branch comments, to the Central Secretary, who then placed them before the Delegate Meeting. When Alfred Greenwood became Central Secretary in February 1869, he interpreted the restrictive Resolution as being applicable to proposed changes in Society Rules only. In March 1869, he proposed a reversion to the former procedure and his suggestion was sanctioned by the Council.

Ibid pp 90 - 91. A resolution by the E.C. in 1878, lay down a specific format for the submission of material for Executive consideration. Council Minute Book entry 8th January 1878. The Resolution streamlined the administrative procedure and enabled the C.S. to exercise considerable control over submitted material.

38. Under the Castleford Branch system of delegate representation firms with one bottle house nominated one delegate. Firms with two or more bottlehouses had one delegate per two houses, or two delegates per three houses.
Ibid p 4. Also, G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII p 216.
39. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 466 and 469.
40. Barnsley, Masbro and Conisbro formed separate branch committees in 1867 on the same principle as Ferrybridge and Wakefield Branches. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 5. The following year, Kilnhurst was also given branch autonomy within the Swinton District, Ibid p 39. The power to close or re-open branches was an unprecedented assumption by the E.C. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 73.
41. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 326 - 327.
42. Council Minute Book, entry 19th July 1876.
43. Ibid, entry 17th December 1878. Also, G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 330 - 332.
44. Council Minute Book, entry 14th January 1879.
45. cf Note 19 supra.
46. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 251.
47. As early as 1867, Swinton, the second largest branch membership of the Society, had attempted to secure branch participation in the appointment of Councilmen. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 25.

48. Under the new system the E.C. nominated twelve persons, six of whom were elected every alternate quarter the same format as that applied to membership of The Appeals Committee. Council Minute Book, entry 17th April 1877.

49. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 330 - 332 for background to the dispute between Castleford Branch and the E.C. Also, Council Minute Book entry 17th December 1878.

50. Rules and Regulations of the F.G.M. Society Revised and Corrected, June 1867, printed as frontispiece to F.G.M.M. Volume V, 1863-67 which state the objects of the Society upon its reorganisation in 1849 as being

".... to raise by subscription among the members, funds for their mutual relief in sickness, when out of employment, or superannuated from old age or other infirmities rendering them unable to work for their own support; to give assistance on the death of a member or his wife; and generally maintain the status of the Flint Glass Makers of the United Kingdom" . (my italics)

51. F.G.M.M., Volume VII, p 169 for reference to William Keedy of Edinbrugh holding office as "one of our first Central Secretaries". No date is given, but Keedy's tenure of office was probably an annual one occurring sometime between the establishment of a nationally organised society in 1844 and the reorganisation of 1849.

52. F.G.M.F. Society Rules 1858, Rule VI.

53. Ibid, Rule II.

54. Ibid. The appointment of the members of C.C. by the C.S. was unique to The F.G.M. Society and although the Society Rules made provision for objections by the membership, the nomination of Committee men by the elected C.S. was never challenged. cf Webb S & B, Industrial Democracy, p 8 f/n 2.

55. William Sivewright and Benjamin Smart each held office as C.S. on two separate occasions.

56. In 1870, Thomas Wilkinson sought to extend his term of office by one year in order to ensure continuity of supervision of the impending Trade Union Bill. Even under the exceptional circumstances which engendered Wilkinson's application, a rival candidate, W. H. Packwood, was nominated and Wilkinson, although successful, only obtained approval for a one year extension of office by a 121 vote majority. Ironically it was Packwood who later became the first Central Secretary to be re-elected for a consecutive second term. F.G.M.M. Volume VI, p 868.
57. The inaugural Conference was held at Manchester in 1849, followed by Birmingham 1850, Stourbridge 1852, Glasgow 1855, London 1850, with a Special Conference at Birmingham the same year to consider The Great Strike and Lock-Out. Manchester provided the venue in 1861, 1864 and 1871 with one held at Edinburgh in 1867.
58. Webb S & B. Industrial Democracy, p 19.
59. Matsumura op cit, pp 181 - 183 for details of Delegate expenses and Conference costs.
60. Ibid, p 182.
61. F.G.M.F. Society Rules and Regulations, 1867, Rule XXII.
62. Webb S & B. Industrial Democracy, p 21.
63. F.G.M.M. Volume VI, p 998.
64. Ibid, p 1054. Minutes of F.G.M. Conference 31st July - 5th August 1871. The decision was codified in the F.G.M. Society Rules and Regulations, 1874, Rule XLVI.
65. Matsumura, op cit, p 179.
66. There are clear indications of issues being submitted to the Trade Vote which was administered at district level cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 5. However, no figures concerning Branch Votes on propositions submitted to the membership appear to have been published earlier than those in G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 30 - 31.

67. Matsumura op cit, p 174.
68. Ibid, p 177.
69. Ibid, p 178.
70. Ibid, pp 175 - 177.
71. F.G.M.M. Volume I, pp 268 - 269.
72. Ibid, p 268.
73. F.G.M.M. Volume II, pp 107 - 108 quoted in Matsumura op cit,
p 165 f/n 5.
74. Ibid, p 181.
75. Ibid, p 182.
76. Ibid, p 184.
77. F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 291. Correspondence of William Keedy and
others of Edinburgh District questioning the necessity of annual
Conferences as suggested by the C.C. Ibid, p 129.
Despite being a former C.S. and a founder member of the reorg-
anized Society of 1849, Keedy obviously held reservations con-
cerning the degree of centralised government to be imposed on
the members of the F.G.M. Society. cf F.G.M.M. Volume 8 (New
Series) p 122.
78. Matsumura op cit pp 170 - 171. For full details of Rudge's
case cf F.G.M.M., Volume VII, pp 692 - 740.
79. F.G.M.M., Volume I (New Series) p 14.
80. Ibid, pp 15 - 21. For reply of Manchester District Secretary
cf Ibid pp 113 - 126.
81. Ibid, pp 24 - 28. Thomas Barnes, despite his championing of
local autonomy, was elected as C.S. in succession to William
Packwood, in 1879.

82. Ibid, pp 79 - 80.
83. Ibid, p 626. Of 2005 members, 1946 voted on the Proposition; 1209 in favour and 737 against.
84. Ibid.
85. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 33.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid, p 26.
88. Ibid, p 34.
89. Ibid, p 35.
90. Ibid.
91. Ibid.
92. G.B.M. reports, Volume II, p 150.
93. Ibid, for the Report of the Deputation cf Ibid p 224.
94. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 40.
95. Ibid, p 35. The E.C. decided, 3rd February 1868, "that there shall be a General Secretary and he shall devote the whole of his time to the Society's business". After this an election took place and William Lindsay of Castleford Branch was appointed. A further resolution was passed specifying the amount of the salary to be paid. The resolutions were never implemented and were not published until 1882 at which date the salary details were withheld. cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 222.
96. Ibid, p 217.
97. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 91 for text of D.M. Resolution.

98. Ibid, p 150. For an example of disqualification from benefit for failing to subscribe to Report. cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 369 - 370.
99. Ibid, p 379.
100. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 467 Society Rules 1862, Rule 17.
101. Ibid, p 470. Society Rules 1865, Rule 17.
102. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 167 and p 180.
103. Ibid, p 3.
104. Ibid.
105. Ibid.
106. Ibid.
107. Ibid.
108. A Resolution "That the C.S. use his own judgement in the selection of articles for the Report" was passed by the D.M. and issued Ibid p 30. The decision was taken following the submission to the D.M. of several articles by members and it was considered "That the C.S. ought to be able to select such articles as would be most likely to benefit members generally".
109. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 458.
110. Greenwood always claimed to take a neutral line in the deliberations of the Council and the Delegate Meeting. In an Address to the Trade in 1880, Greenwood stated
".... although I have been, and still am personally affected by the measures which have been passed, yet I am glad to say that with two or three exceptions I have allowed Resolutions to pass without any comment; that I have purposely and determindly refrained from taking part in the discussions which have taken place".
G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 281.

111. Ibid.
112. Ibid, p 4.
113. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 319.
114. Ibid.
115. Ibid. In a postscript to his Address, Greenwood remained unrepentent, stating:
 "I can only say that I shall hold myself
 in readiness to answer for its intro-
 duction when I may be called upon to
 do so".
116. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 130 - 131.
117. Ibid, p 247.
118. Ibid.
119. Ibid. The charge arose as a result of the E.C. decision to pay Martin Waters 9d per hour to assist Greenwood in clearance of a backlog of work arising as a result of the general audit of Branch Accounts. cf Ibid, p 199. The total sum paid to Waters was 11 shillings. Ibid, p 237.
120. Ibid. p 249.
121. Ibid, p 251. Greenwood pointed out that those members expelled by the A.S.E. were more than double the number of the G.B.M. Society total membership stating that:
 ".... our Society is dependent on the compulsory principle in order to retain a good state of organisation. It cannot afford to exclude all members who are careless or indifferent, or even those who obstruct the progress of Society".
122. Ibid, p 251.
123. Ibid, p 255.

124. Ibid. It was also stated that other 'New Model' Societies, including, significantly, the F.G.M.
".... possess many intelligent and influential members who are proud of the Society to which they belong".
125. Ibid, pp 303 - 311.
126. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 104.
127. Ibid, p 151.
128. Ibid.
129. Ibid.
130. Ibid, p 152.
131. Ibid, p 219.
132. Rejection of E.C. Propositions was most noticeable when such proposals sought to remove existing trade practices such as the tantum (G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 201 and 204) and wage agreements (G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 159).
133. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 332.
134. Report on Glass Bottles in the Paris Exhibition 1878.
Published as Appendix to G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI (1877 - 1878).
135. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 183 - 185. cf Note 55 supra.
136. Ibid, p 175 and p 177. By a vote of 178 to 66, the Central Secretary's salary was increased from £5 to £10 per quarter. The total vote represented only 25.5% of the membership. Greenwood implied that many members were prevented from voting in favour of the increase due to meetings being arranged at inconvenient times - a fact which may be indicative of branch politics.
Stating his indifference to the outcome of the vote, Greenwood remarked

"The indifference did not arise from a knowledge that I should be overpaid ...
... As to earning the increased salary I think there would be no difficulty in a lad earning considerably more money for labouring in the yard the time which I have devoted to the Society's business".

[~] Ibid, p 135. For details of increases in the Salaries of the Central Secretaries of both Societies. cf Appendix II infra.

137. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 237.

138. Ibid, p 421. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 469.

139. Ibid, p 4.

140. Ibid.

141. Ibid.

142. Ibid.

143. Ibid, p 12.

144. Ibid, p 161.

145. Ibid.

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid, p 166.

148. Ibid, p 171.

149. Ibid, p 172.

150. Ibid.

151. Ibid, p 330.

152. One Delegate stated:

"There are three curses in our trade,
and we shall never have a Society until
they are removed, and the sooner they
get removed the better, for then we can
do something. There's the Council, the
Deputations and Managers. I don't
believe in 'em, and there'll never be
no good done while they exist".

Ibid, p 331.

153. Ibid, p 332.

154. Ibid.

155. Ibid, p 281.

156. Ibid.

157. Ibid, p 361. Greenwood asserted:

"This kind of stuff I have resolved to
put down so far as it points at me ...
I shall not suffer either him or any-
one else to charge me either in the
clubroom, the workshop or elsewhere;
nor anyone else, to repeat his
charges....".

158. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 26. The system of tabulated
Quarterly Returns of Society Membership began to be pub-
lished in the Quarterly Reports in 1867. For details of
the evolution of the tabulated system cf Articles and
Statistics 1905-10, p 600.

159. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 333 - 386 for reprint of Roll
Sheets 1862 - 1865. For membership during years 1865 - 1866
cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, p 42.

160. Although the actual number of members at the end of the years
1869 and 1870 was 792, the average number based on the Quar-
terly Returns shows an increase from 744 to 781.

161. Articles and Statistics 1905-10, p 623.
162. Ibid.
163. For analysis of District Membership of F.G.M. Society cf Matsumura op cit p 154 - 156.
164. Ibid, p 156.
165. United G.B.M. Society Report, March 1860, pp 11 - 29, *passim*.
166. cf Table 7:8
167. Matsumura op cit, p 132.
168. The hiatus in the membership of Castleford District of the G.B.M. Society is mirrored in the membership of Ferrybridge Branch, its sub-district. The establishment of glassworks at Knottingley in 1871, boosted membership of Ferrybridge Branch but by 1873, flintworks were being worked at Knottingley, resulting in a virtual stabilisation of Ferrybridge membership of the G.B.M. Society until 1878.
169. F.G.M. Society Rules 1858, Rule 1. The entrance fee varied at different periods cf Matsumura op cit, p 156 f/n1.
170. For a slightly contradictory view cf quote from Factory Inspectors Report 1879, op cit, p 157.
171. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865, Rule 5, section 1.
172. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 27.
173. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865, Rule 27.
174. G.B.M. Society Rules 1853, Rule 3, stipulated an entrance fee for apprentice members of 2/6d but this was omitted from the 1862 Code of Rules.

175. F.G.M.M. Volume IV, p 248. Matsumura has utilised the survey and calculated that the bulk of the Society membership consisted of 42.1% workmen; 36.3% servitors and 16.2% footmakers, op cit, p 159. Also, Table 4:2 Ibid, p 158.
176. Table 4:3 Ibid, p 161.
177. F.G.M.M. Volume I (New Series) p 208.
178. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 408.
179. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865, Rule 32. The Code 1862 merely restated those dated 1855 which made provision for any member residing beyond 25 miles from Castleford to retain membership by payment of quarterly subscriptions. cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 455 and p 468. The 1865 Code extended membership and Funeral Benefit for six months until the expatriate journeyman became a free member of another Society, or for an indefinite period upon remittance of 3/- per quarter in advance. The application of Rule 32 also provided for eventual re-entry to Society without a pre-qualifying period Ibid, p 471.
180. For references to Hunslet Branch's lack of support for trade union ideals, cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 26 and p 34 - 35; Volume XVII p 429 and Volume XXI p 49.
181. cf Chapter 4 *supra*.
182. Matsumura op cit, p 164.
183. Ibid, p 209 f/n1 for details of cost of 1858 - 1859 Strike and Lock-Out.
184. A slight fall occurred in 1869 and 1870 but of insignificant proportions. A more significant drop occurred in 1874, probably as a result of the defalcations of C.S. Joseph Rudge and others during that year.
185. Although books were issued to branches by Central Office, uniform book-keeping did not commence until circa 1874.

186. F.G.M.M., Volume IV, p 305 contains an assertion by Alexander Campbell of Glasgow, an honorary member of the F.G.M. Society, that the per capita funds were in excess of those of the A.S.E. when their respective positions were in fact £2-9-2d and £3-4-2d.
187. Matsumura op cit, Table 4:4, p 169.
188. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 720.
189. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 3. C.S. William Lindsay reported assets of £5,353-3-10d and increase of £956-10-6d over the previous eleven months, giving a total balance of £4396-3-4d in 1866.
190. Beehive, 21st August 1869.
191. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I p 45. By the end of 1869 per capita amount had risen to £9-9-11d.
192. The per capita figures were:
- | | G.B.M. | F.G.M. | A.S.E. | A.S.C.J. |
|------|----------|---------|---------|----------|
| 1877 | £16-4-8 | £5-6-0 | £6-2-1 | £4-8-2 |
| 1878 | £14-5-2½ | £3-12-7 | £5-10-5 | £4-6-1 |
| 1879 | £ 9-3-6 | £2-13-7 | £3-4-0 | £2-17-3 |
- Source: Matsumura op cit, Table 4:4, p 169.
193. Articles of Castleford G.B.M. Society 1843. Article IX, G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 451.
194. Rules of the Yorkshire Glass Makers' Friendly Aid Society 1853, Rules 28 and 29 Ibid, p 455.
195. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 7 Ibid, p 466.
196. Rule 30, Ibid, p 468.
197. F.G.M. Sick and Friendly Society Rules and Regulations June 1867, Rule XXIII.
198. Of 30 trustees named in Report, 8th November 1880, p 451 all had served or were still serving as Officers in the Society.

199. Apart from the time consuming demands union duties made on officials, particularly on the Central Secretary, which occasioned delay in due publication of the quarterly report, confusion often arose as a consequence of the state in which branch accounts were submitted to Central Office, thereby causing further delay. For examples cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 3 and Volume IV, p 375 and most noticable, Volume III, pp 319 - 320.
200. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 23.
201. The creation of independent branches in place of district committees may represent an attempt by the Bottle Makers' Executive Committee to minimise the effect of any misappropriation of Society funds as well as being a consequence of trade expansion and membership growth.
202. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 301.
203. Ibid, p 319.
204. Ibid, pp 370 - 372. The defalcations were far more extensive than the sum with which Ezart was charged. An examination of Swinton District finances on the E.C. and D.M. took three years and uncovered a deficit of £237 as a result of financial misplacement covering a five year period cf Special Audit Report 1876 published as frontispiece to G.B.M. Reports, Volume V (1875 - 1876).
205. Matsumura, op cit, pp 170 - 171.
206. Ibid.
207. The decision to invest money with a Building Society followed the example of the A.S.E. who had investments with the Queen's Building Society. Re-investment was made necessary by the fact that Rudge still had legal authority to withdraw the Manchester District funds held at Heywood Brothers Bank cf F.G.M.M. Volume I (New Series), pp 625 - 628.
208. Ibid, p 581.

209. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 38 and p 176.
210. Ibid.
211. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 218 for reference to irresponsible action by branches in nominating trustees who were not necessarily able to read or write. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 379 for indications of general degree of illiteracy amongst Society members.
212. Matsumura op cit, p 166 f/n 1 and 2 for details of failure of Western Bank, Glasgow.
213. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 377.
214. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 320.
215. Ibid. The application of the proposed bond to secretaries arose as a direct result of embezzlement by Branch Secretaries at Ferrybridge, Hunslet, Wakefield and Swinton.
216. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 5. Under the terms pursuant to 18th and 19th Vict, Cap 63, Section 4, submission of two copies of Society Rules would have ensured protection of Society funds, subject to the approval of the Registrar of Friendly Societies.
217. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 55.
218. Ibid, p 176. The new measures were proposed by Alfred Greenwood the previous year, following consultation with the Secretaries of the principal trade societies of the U.K. cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume III pp 321 - 322. The possibility of obtaining a higher yield on investments had been brought to the attention of the membership by Greenwood some years earlier cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 425.
219. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 187. The deposits had to be invested for 12 months minimum after which access could be obtained by means of 6 months' notice of withdrawal. Interest was paid twice yearly.
220. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 237.

221. The sum of £1,000 invested in 1864 was undertaken by resolution of the Delegate Meeting as a measure designed to keep the Districts united. Towards the sum, Castleford District advanced £500, Swinton District £220, Hunslet District £100 and Thornhill Lees District £180. No agreement was made concerning specific rates of interest, but a rate of 5% per annum was briefly obtained in 1866. Thereafter, subject to annual fluctuation until the fixed arrangement of 1873. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 187 - 188.
222. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 529.
223. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 129. The rejection by the E.C. was emphatically endorsed subsequently by the D.M. which recorded that
".... this Meeting expresses its dis-approval of investing the Society funds in similar speculations".
Ibid.
224. Matsumura op cit, p 172.
225. Of the 65 Trustees named, only 6 served as Trustees for more than one investment cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 529 - 530.
226. Ibid.
227. Ibid, p 159.
228. Ibid, p 218.
229. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 3, Volume II, p 271 and p 467.
230. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 135.
231. Ibid, p 199.
232. Greenwood re-scheduled the Branch Returns to take account of the number of bottle holes rather than bottle houses (i.e. furnaces). G.B.M. Reports, Volume XII, p 666 and with the establishment of the General Fund, drafted a Table to replace

the previous method of showing Branch Balances. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 170. Greenwood later wrote that the Table

"..... ought to be prized by every member of the Society. As a Table its worth cannot be over estimated we know of no other Trade Society which publishes a Table of this description equal to it".

G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 160.

233. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 139.

234. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 97.

235. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 320. Also Volume V, pp 159 - 160 and p 378 and Volume VI, p 237.

236. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, pp 378 - 379.

237. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 156.

238. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 11.

239. Ibid.

240. Ibid, p 12. The sum cited does not include £1761-11-6½d of unauthorised expenditure between June 1865 and October 1878 cf Ibid, pp 5 - 9, nor the labour of the C.S. in connection with the Special Audit of Swinton Branch Accounts, nor E.C. expenses in connection with embezzlements and deficits between 1874 - 1878.

241. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 379 for E.C. denial of Branches desire to retain books appertaining to the General Fund.

242. Matsumura op cit, p 171.

243. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 136.

244. Ibid, p 3.

245. Hobsbawm op cit, pp 34 - 64. For other descriptions of The Tramping system cf Kiddier op cit p 13 - 14 and Gosden P H J H Friendly Societies in England 1815 - 1875 (Manchester University Press 1961), Appendix A, p 221.
246. Articles of the Castleford Glass Bottle Makers' Society 1838, Article IX Reprinted in G.B.M. Rules 1906, Preface p vii.
247. Articles of the Castleford Glass Bottle Makers' Society 1843 Articles XI Reprinted in G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX p 451.
248. G.B.M. Society Rules 1853, Rule 7, Reprinted Ibid p 453.
249. Matsumura op cit, p 246. The proposal to abandon Tramp Relief and replace it with payment of rail fares is ascribed to one John Campbell, a member of the F.G.M. Society who later became a manufacturer. F.G.M.M., Volume IV, 1862, p 556.
250. Matsumura op cit, p 257.
251. Ibid, p 246 and pp 249 - 251.
252. F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 34 quoted in Matsumura, op cit, p 246.
253. F.G.M.M. Volume IV. p 57 cf Smart's attack on tramping as being a "perniciously common and injurious system" in a speech at York during his second term as C.S. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 866.
254. Guttery, op cit, plate 4, opposite p 8.
255. Clegg Fox and Thompson op cit, p 6.
256. Hobsbawm op cit, pp 40 - 41 and pp 49 - 50.
257. Ibid, p 45.
258. G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface, p ix. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 456.
259. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1858, Rule 3. Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 456.

260. Rule 28, Ibid, p 458.
261. Ibid, Rule 29.
262. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1859, Rule 24. Ibid, p 463.
263. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 11, Ibid, p 467.
264. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865, Rule 13, Ibid, p 470.
265. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 204.
266. Alfred Greenwood's footnote to Rule 13 of the 1865 Code, Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 166, clearly states the distinction between Yorkshire and Lancashire artisans regarding rates of relief.
267. For a full description of the 'Roll' system employed by The F.G.M. Society cf Matsumura, op cit, pp 247 - 249.
268. Ibid, p 246.
269. Ibid, p 250.
270. F.G.M.M. Volume IV, p 335.
271. Ibid, p 275.
272. F.G.M.M. Volume II, pp 85 - 86.
273. Ibid, pp 131 - 132.
274. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 338.
275. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 336.
276. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 190 - 191.
277. No money was actually paid out as tramp relief after 1880.
278. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XIV, p 506.

279. Matsumura op cit, p 250.
280. Ibid, p 251.
281. Ibid, Table 5:5, p 252.
282. Ibid.
283. Ibid, Table 5:6, p 253.
284. Ibid, Table A.3. p 392.
285. Ibid.
286. Ibid, p 386.
287. Hanson C.G, Craft Unions Welfare Benefits and The Case for Trade Union Law Reform 1867 - 1875 Econ. 'Hist' Review 2nd Series, Volume XXVIII, No. 2 (May 1975), pp 243 - 259.
288. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, p 108.
289. Hanson, loc cit, pp 250 - 255.
290. F.G.M.M. Volume I, pp 48 - 49.
291. Ibid, p 98.
292. F.G.M.M. Volume II, p 46.
293. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 10. The Rule was adopted from the Code of the United G.B.M. Society, Rule 10, 1859. The United G.B.M. Society Rules of 1858 had provided a graduated scale of benefit for all members incapacitated by reason of "age, accident or inability", Rule 13, 1858 stipulated the following scale of benefit:
- | | | | |
|-----------------|---|-----|-----------|
| 10 years member | - | 2/6 | per week, |
| 15 " " | - | 3/- | per week, |
| 20 " " | - | 3/6 | per week, |
| 30 " " | - | 5/- | per week, |
| 35 " " | - | 7/- | per week. |

With the last class only effective when the Society had been established for five years. The variable state of district finances allied to the inadequacies of central government made the scheme impracticable and resulted in the revision of the rule the following year.

294. Matsumura T., op cit, p 254. Also F.G.M.M, Volume II, p 139 and p 188.
295. G.B.M. Y.U.T.P. Society Rules 1865, Rule X.
296. F.G.M.M., Volume V, pp 274 - 275.
297. Ibid, p 343.
298. Ibid, p 904.
299. F.G.M.M. Volume I (New Series), pp 442 - 443.
300. Ibid, p 478. Wilkinson's figures are at slight variance with those in Table 7:25 supra, probably because Wilkinson's calculations were based upon the returns for a particular trade quarter rather than the annual totals.
301. Ibid, pp 570 - 571.
302. Ibid. The proposal was made by Dublin and Sheldon Districts of the F.G.M. Society.
303. F.G.M.M. Volume 2 (New Series) pp 762 - 763.
304. F.G.M.M. Volume 3 (New Series) pp 1001 - 1004. A Trade Vote in 1879 had rejected by a two to one ratio the proposition by Glasgow District that superannuation rates be reduced.
305. Ibid, p 1018.
306. Ibid, p 1013.
307. F.G.M.M. Volume 4 (New Series).
308. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, pp 108 - 109.

309. Ibid.
310. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, pp 108 - 109.
311. Ibid, p 190.
312. Ibid, pp 178 - 179.
313. Ibid.
314. Ibid.
315. Ibid.
316. Ibid, p 355.
317. Ibid, p 305.
318. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 304.
319. G.B.M. Reports, Volume X, p 515.
320. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 82, also Volume IV, pp 253 - 254.
321. Ibid, p 308.
322. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 173.
323. G.B.M. of Great Britain and Ireland Amalgamated Trade Association Rules 1872, Reprinted Ibid, pp 244 - 250.
324. Ibid, p 249.
325. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 308.
326. Ibid, p 305.
327. Ibid, p 306.
328. Ibid.
329. Ibid.

330. Ibid.
331. Ibid, p 308.
332. Matsumura, op cit, p 259.
333. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 308.
334. Hanson loc cit, p 257.
335. Articles of the Castleford G.B.M. Society 1843, Article XVI,
Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, pp 45
336. Ibid.
337. G.B.M. Society Rules 1853, Rule 20 Ibid.
338. United G. B.M. Society Rules 1858. Rule 30 Ibid, pp 456 - 459.
In 1859 the amount paid upon the death of a members' wife was
increased from £5 to £6. Ibid, p 463.
339. Ibid, p 459, Rule 32. The social significance of such an
occasion was clearly evident in the report concerning the
funeral of Samuel Saxton who died, aged 49, in 1858 and "was
interred at the cemetery, St. Helens followed by all the bottle
hands on the town; a more imposing or respectable funeral has
(never?) passed through the streets of St. Helens". United G.B.M.
Society Report, March 1859, pp 33 - 34.
340. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 14 op cit, p 467.
341. Ibid, Rule 12.
342. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865, Rule 24, Ibid, p 471.
343. Matsumura op cit, p 257.
344. Ibid.
345. Ibid, p 258.

346. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 170.
347. Ibid, pp 168 - 169 for details of individual amounts paid as 24th Rule benefit. The amount of the grant was theoretically determined by the number of journeymen members who were levied at one shilling each, but the sum of £33-10-0d paid to the first beneficiary in October 1866, would have required a membership of 670 when in fact only 502 journeymen belonged to the Society at that time.
348. Ibid, p 170.
349. Matsumura op cit, p 258.
350. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 167, notes instances of threatened litigation by members and widows denied benefit because of arrears of contributions.
351. The Rule stated that the Society was established ".... for the purpose of improving their (i.e. GBM's) social, intellectual and moral education,."
352. Ibid, p 169.
353. Ibid, p 170.
354. Ibid, p 169.
355. Articles of the Castleford G.B.M. Society 1838, Article III, Reprinted in G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface, p vii.
356. G.B.M. Society Rules 1853, Rule 6, Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 453. The Rule also required that contributions be paid out of the sums stated and that a sick member "must give satisfactory evidence that he is unable to follow his employment".
357. G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface, p viii.
358. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XX, p 348.

359. The Registered Office of the GBM's Friendly Society was Trevelyan House, Carlton Street, Castleford and for the greater part of the Society's existence its Secretary was William Wheeler, Castleford Branch Secretary of the G.B.M. Society. Ibid.
360. In November 1861, the C.C. had introduced the suggestion for the establishment of sickness benefit, claiming that such a scheme "..... would be less expensive and more beneficial to us as a body". F.G.M.M., Volume IV, p 398.
The suggestion was re-introduced in June 1864 and followed up in March 1865 by a series of suggestions concerning the administrative format of the Society's Sick Club. F.G.M.M. Volume V, pp 412 - 416.
361. The proposal was approved by 611 votes to 604, some 76.4% of the Society members voting on the issue. Ibid, pp 344 and 398.
362. Ibid, p 412.
363. Many members subscribed to the view expressed in 1852 by C.S. William Gillinder that:
"The man who will leave Society because the Society cannot pay more than 4s 6d would also leave if the contribution was raised above one shilling per week".
F.G.M.M. Volume 1, p 313.
364. F.G.M. Friendly Society Rules and Regulations 1867.
Reprinted as frontispiece to F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 6.
365. Ibid. The 1867 Rules stipulated a full weeks sickness benefit for members who worked less than three moves and half benefit for those members making between three and six moves per week.
366. Matsumura op cit, p 257 f/n2 re C.S. Thomas Wilkinson's statement to the R.C. on Trade Unions 1864
367. F.G.M.M. Volume 2 (New Series) pp 534 - 538.

368. Matsumura op cit, Chapter IV, Section V.
369. Ibid, p 186.
370. G.B.M. Rules 1906, Preface p ix.
371. G.B.M. Society Rules 1855, Rule 33, G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 455.
372. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1858. Rules 16 and 18 Ibid, p 457.
373. Ibid, p 462.
374. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862. Rule 29 Ibid, p 468.
375. G.B.M. Society Rules 1865. Rule 29 Ibid, p 471.
376. For examples of raffles in various districts of the flint glass trade cf F.G.M.M. Volume IV, pp 173 - 174 (piano) and Ibid passim (watches); Volume V, p 271 (screen of birds) and (set of tools).
377. Ibid, p 873 for an example of voluntary subscription regarding the family of John Rennox, deceased. The sum of £35-7-9d, being raised on behalf of his wife and her six children.
378. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX p 345.
379. Turner A.H. Trade Union Growth p 210 re spinners.
380. Musson A.E. Trade Unions and Social History p 94.
381. F.G.M.M. Volume I p 477.
382. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, July 1867, p 29 and September 1867 p 30.
383. Ibid, November 1868, p 34.
384. Ibid, September 1868, p 30 and November 1868, p 34.

385. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 345. Also Volume I, August 1868, p 5 and pp 34 - 35.
386. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 375.
387. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 6.
388. Over 50% of the total amount was subscribed by the 'home' branch with only two of the ten branches failing to subscribe at all. Compare this with the previous case of appeal by a Wakefield Branch artisan which raised £2-0-2d with only three branches contributing and nothing being subscribed by the members own branch. G.B.M. Reports. Ibid, p 4.
389. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 437.
390. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 6.

CHAPTER EIGHT:

UNION POLICIES

(a) Apprenticeship and Trade Progression.

The attempt by craft unions to restrict trade entry by imposition of an apprentice ratio in proportion to the number of journeymen practising their trade has been seen by one authority as a reversion to medieval 'guild unionism' rather than the formulation of an innovative industrial concept.¹ Regardless of its origins, the adoption of such a measure following the repeal of Elizabethan Statute Law in 1814, represented the practical application of ongoing political theory as a means of ensuring the maintenance of socio-economic status conferred by craft exclusivity.

Removal of the protective statute law posed a threat to the living standards of the glassmaking artisans by increasing the probability of wage debasement and rising unemployment amongst journeymen as a result of unrestricted apprenticeship. Prior to the mid-1840s, the application of the Excise Regulations to all aspects of glass manufacture had ensured a degree of restraint on industrial expansion and productive output which had rendered the threat to artisan status from unrestricted trade entry more apparent than real. Nevertheless, a significant increase in business establishment⁵ as well as in overall production was evident during the early decades of the nineteenth century, which was further stimulated as a result of the repeal of the Excise Duties.² By the middle of the century, apprentice limitation formed an important aspect of the industrial policy of both societies of glassmakers. The necessity for such a policy was clearly evident to the flint glassmakers whose Society Rules of 1849 decreed a ratio of one apprentice per six journeymen.³ The stringent application of the Rule in face of rising journeyman unemployment during the latter years of the following decade was a principal factor precipitating the great trade dispute of 1858 - 1859. The resultant compromise of one apprentice per three chairs (i.e. nine journeymen) as the ratio agreed with the Midland Manufacturers' Association at Dudley in April 1859, although a modification of the Society's previous stance, had compensatory benefits. The acceptance by both sides of a formally agreed apprentice ratio served as a basis for uniform application throughout the entire trade. The rapid efficacy of the applied terms of Agreement was amply attested by the evidence

given to the Royal Commission on Trade Unions in 1865. The signatories of the Minority Report stressed that the Flint Glass Makers' Society applied the strongest limitation on trade entrance outside the learned professions and noted the significant acknowledgement of Society policy by the manufacturers.⁴ The successful imposition of the agreed ratio in the face of hostile criticism from glass manufacturers in regions of the trade such as the North East of England and Scotland, where the conditions underlying the terms of the Dudley Agreement were less appropriate, was testimony to the influence of the Midland Manufacturers' Association and the administrative capability of the Flint Glass Makers' Society as a national organisation.⁵ George Howell's observation that the apprentice restriction applied by the Flint Glass Makers was

".... much more successful than in
other trades,"⁶

reiterates the view of the Commissioners. It also indicates the determination of the flint glass artisans to enforce uniform acceptance of the ratio in the awareness that acceptance was a pivotal factor governing craft and socio-economic status.

Within the confines of the Yorkshire trade the terms of the Dudley Agreement were rendered less significant by considerations arising from the unique nature of the County trade. The gradual transition from traditional wares to container production by the Yorkshire flint hands had occurred in response to the developing trade specialisation within the region and followed in the wake of the firm establishment of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society throughout the County. Consequently, in terms of size of membership, as well as productive output, the Glass Bottle Makers' Society was predominant and the arbiter on matters concerning trade conditions within the County trade. The difference in the nature of flint glass production in Yorkshire, compared to that within the more traditional areas of the flint glass trade, made rigid enforcement of an apprentice ratio less appropriate. The inability of the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to appreciate the particular conditions within the container trade placed them and the County members at a disadvantage in the attempt to apply restrictive measures in an area of expanding industry and growing commercial competition.⁷

The measures adopted by the Glass Bottle Makers' Society for the incorporation of apprentice labour within membership of the Society

has been outlined above. (cf Chapter 7 (d)). The gradual absorption of apprentices was in response to, and in parallel with, the development of the County trade during the period 1845 - 1865. Together with the restricted geographical location of the industry and Society administration and assisted by the lack of formal trade association by the manufacturers, the development enabled the Union to exercise a degree of labour control denied to their flint glass contemporaries. As a result, the formulation of an apprentice ratio and its formal acceptance by the employers was less necessary than was the case within the flint glass industry. Consequently, the Society was satisfied with the informal observation of the conditions laid down by the 'United' Society in 1858

"That in future there shall be no more than one apprentice allowed to each hole."⁸

TABLE 8:1 PERCENTAGE AND RATIO OF APPRENTICE AND JOURNEYMAN MEMBERS OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY AT EACH YEAR END 1867 - 1879

YEAR	(A) YOUTHS AND APPRENTICES	(B) JOURNEYMEN	% $\frac{(A)}{(B)} \times 100$	(A)	RATIO OF	(B)
1867	149	543	27-4	1	-	3.6
1868	159	561	28-3	1	-	3.5
1869	150	609	24-6	1	-	4.0
1870	136	656	20-7	1	-	4.8
1871	121	671	18-0	1	-	5.5
1872	151	727	20-7	1	-	4.8
1873	193	761	25-3	1	-	3.9
1874	190	828	22-9	1	-	4.3
1875	187	871	21-4	1	-	4.6
1876	182	938	19-4	1	-	5.1
1877	185	952	19-4	1	-	5.1
1878	192	958	20-0	1	-	4.9
1879	192	957	20-0	1	-	4.9

Source: G.B.M. Reports, 1867 - 1879 passim.

Table 8:1 showing the comparative proportion of apprentices to journeymen during the period 1867 - 1879 supports this assertion for at no time during the period was the ratio of 1 apprentice to one chair exceeded. The table reveals a degree of fluctuation in response to the changing circumstances of trade. From 1868 when the lowest ratio existed, a rising pattern is evident in the years immediately following

so that by 1871 the ratio stood at almost one apprentice to two chairs of journeymen. The sharp rise in apprentice intake during the years 1872 - 1873 may be ascribed to the commencement of the trade boom. This was, for the most part, undertaken in accordance with the terms of an apprenticeship scheme drawn-up by the Society in 1870 and accepted by the general body of manufacturers the following year.⁹

The impact of the considerable increase in apprentice labour during 1872 - 1873 was lessened by an accompanying rise in artisan entry and although substantial diminution of the ratio of apprentices to journeymen occurred during those years, observance of the Society's proposals ensured controlled reduction. From 1874, the Table indicates a gradual decrease in apprentice recruitment with a corresponding increase in artisan labour. The decrease may be explained by the success of the Union in obtaining monopolistic control of the workforce. As a result, manufacturers at Swinton and Hunslet which had previously worked a number of bottle houses using a combination of apprentice and non-union labour, were compelled to fall into line with the dictates of the Union. By 1877 the differential of 1871 was almost restored. The combination of adverse trade and industrial disruption which took place from 1876, resulted in a decline in union power and also of artisan entry into the trade. As a result apprentice levels rose slightly from 1878 but as the adverse trade conditions limited the scope for business expansion, the effect of the trend was of limited consequence to the ratio of apprentices and journeymen.

The Society's initiative on the 'Apprentice Question' arose in response to a request by Swinton Branch that the issue be considered by the Delegate Meeting with a view to equalising apprentice numbers throughout the trade.¹⁰ As a result a twelve-man committee appointed by the Executive Council met at Normanton, 12th February 1870, to consider "the best means for effecting a limited number of apprentices."¹¹

Considerations other than existing levels of apprenticeship were influential in motivating action by the Society on the issue of apprentice limitation. The use of apprentices in conjunction with non-union labour at Swinton and Hunslet branches was an indication of the

TABLE 8:2 COMPARATIVE NUMBERS OF APPRENTICES AND JOURNEYMEN ENGAGED IN THE YORKSHIRE GLASS BOTTLE TRADE AT VARIOUS PERIODS 1856 - 1869.

NUMBER OF		NUMBER OF		NUMBER OF		NUMBER OF		NUMBER OF	
GLASS		JOURNEYMEN		EXPATRIATE		JOURNEYMEN		JOURNEYMEN	
BOTTLE		ENGAGED IN		JOURNEYMEN		FORMERLY		AND	
HOUSES		YORKSHIRE		FORMERLY		APPRENTICES		APPRENTICE	
		BOTTLE TRADE		YORKSHIRE		IN OTHER		DEATHS	
				APPRENTICES		REGIONS			
DECEMBER		DECEMBER		DECEMBER		DECEMBER		DECEMBER	
1855		1855		1855		1855		1855	
1862		1862		1862		1862		1862	
1869		1869		1869		1869		1869	

possible tendency in other branches as improving trade heralded a phase of industrial prosperity. The action of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society must, therefore, be seen as the assertion of its recently acquired industrial power in order to forestall possible future erosion of labour differentials rather than general dissatisfaction with the existing ratios. One element of the weakening trend is seen in the data concerning journeyman placement during the years 1855 - 1869.

Table 8:2 shows that in response to a near doubling of the number of glass bottle houses during the period 1855 to 1869, the journeyman workforce had increased by 33.8%. As the average bottle house contained a four pot furnace, the required number of artisans to fully engage all positions was 672. A shortfall of 129 journeyman positions was available to apprentices at various stages of the trade, supplemented by a number of youths as yet unbound. The number of bound apprentices in December 1869 equalled 207 who, together with 37 youths unbound, totalled 244. The trade was, therefore, over-subscribed and the likelihood of further unrestricted entry arising from the impending cycle of trade prosperity carried the warning of heavy journeyman unemployment in the event of a downturn in trade. In addition, a growing tendency amongst journeymen to abandon the Yorkshire trade was discernable during the period. By 1869, the number of journeymen who had served their apprenticeships in Yorkshire and who for various reasons, had left the County had increased from 4 to 37, whilst the number of journeymen who had left the trade to follow other callings had risen by almost 35% from 22 in 1855 to an average of 63 during the 1860s. Only about one quarter of the vacancies were filled by journeymen from other regions, thus producing further scope for apprentice labour and adverse long-term consequences of journeyman unemployment. A further consideration, which though of a minor nature was worthy of consideration because of its developing tendency, was the inverse ratio of journeyman - apprentice deaths. Journeyman deaths had risen by one third since 1855, whilst apprentice deaths which had decreased by 14.2% throughout the period. Thus, even allowing for natural wastage and replacement, the situation vis a vis apprentice and journeyman labour warranted regulation by the Society to ensure actuarial provision for trade benefits as well as the maintenance of craft status.

The need of the Society to formulate and implement an overall strategy for regulation of apprentice promotion to various stages of the craft was an important aspect of apprentice limitation. Unlike the Flint Glass Makers' Society which had a rigid control over trade promotion enshrined within its Rules and given practical effect through the C.Ss. administration of a Central Register of journeyman vacancies,¹² the Glass Bottle Makers had no comprehensive policy: As a result, the customary observance of gradual progression through the stages of the trade was increasingly violated by employers who utilised apprentices and unbound youths to maximise production or ensure its continuation in times of trade dispute. The hurried progression of hands through the stages of the trade, with frequent by-passing of stages of the trade was commonplace. It was the dismissal of journeymen in order to accommodate apprentice labour in the stages of blowing and bottlemaking, which had originally led the Society to recruit apprentices as members when attaining the age of eighteen. Despite the imposition of financial penalties for deferred entry into Society membership introduced upon reorganisation in 1862, it was deemed necessary to introduce the ultimate restraint of refusal to work with non-Society men in the Rules revision of 1865.¹³ An increasing degree of promotional control evolved from the mid 1860s as the Society sought to check the assault on customary practice by the manufacturers. Early in 1867, the Society resolved to discontinue practising to blow by apprentices under 18 years of age.¹⁴ An attempt by Castleford Branch the same year to raise from 16 to 16½ years the age at which wetters-off were allowed to gather, whilst rejected by the Delegate Meeting,¹⁵ was applied shortly afterwards to non-bound apprentices and subject to having passed through the respective stages of taking-in and wetting-off.¹⁶ At the same time the attention of the members was drawn to the still binding effect of a resolution of 1866 stating,

"That any member wilfully neglecting his work, so as to cause an apprentice to be put forward, either for the time he is off work, or permanently, to be fined the sum of £1 for each offence. Also, any journeyman gatherer, blower, or bottlemaker allowing an apprentice wetter-off, gatherer, or blower belonging to another hole, to work for them, to be fined the sum of £1 for each offence."¹⁷

TABLE 8:3 **NUMBER OF APPRENTICES EMPLOYED IN THE VARIOUS STAGES OF GLASS BOTTLE MAKING,**
1868 -- 1869

STAGES OF APPRENTICE EMPLOYMENT	
JUNE 1868	
6	BOTTLE MAKING
42	BOTTLE BLOWING
34	GATHERING AND BLOWING
134	GATHERING
-	GATHERING AND WETTING-OFF
66	WETTING-OFF
	TAKING-IN
282	TOTAL
DECEMBER 1869	
-	BOTTLE MAKING
28	BOTTLE BLOWING
21	GATHERING AND BLOWING
113	GATHERING
11	GATHERING AND WETTING-OFF
33	WETTING-OFF
1	TAKING-IN
207	TOTAL

Sources:

- (1) G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 31.
- (11) G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 303.

The resolution was originally framed to prevent 'promotion by default' occurring as a result of recourse to apprentice labour by employers or journeymen to cover artisan absence from work. The social constraint imposed upon artisans by observance of the first part of the resolution does much to explain the need for re-inforcement.¹⁸ In an effort to curb 'unapproved' promotions by the employers, the Executive Council asserted in 1870, that

"..... no member is compelled to work with apprentices that are not qualified to do the work....."

and that

"..... when an employer gives instructions for a man either to work with apprentices that he puts to them, or he must not work at all, that he (i.e. the workman) is not liable to damages."¹⁹

Some indication of the effectiveness of the above measures may be obtained by reference to Table 8:3 showing the comparative number of apprentices at various stages of the trade in June 1868 and December 1869.

The Table shows that during a period of generally improving trade a reduction occurred in all stages of training, totalling 75 apprentices and representing 26.5% of the 1868 figure. The reduction in respect of the bottlemaking category should be treated with caution, however, as five apprentices belonging to this group in 1868 were employed at the York Bottle Company which no longer formed a branch of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society in December 1869. Likewise, no separate statistics are available for 1868 in respect of the three junior stages of the trade, although comparison on a collective basis indicates a reduction of approximately one third. The number of apprentices in 1868 comprised 36.5% of the entire workforce engaged in glass bottle production and had declined to 28.5% some eighteen months later. The figures suggest that attempts to impose promotional control by the Society were proving successful, although the apparent gains of 1869 are subject to modification in the light of the statistics concerning unbound youths in the trade.

Table 8:4 is of significance in that the 37 unbound youths occupying sundry stages of the trade represent almost a 19% increase in non-

TABLE 8:4 NUMBER OF UNBOUND YOUTHS AND UNEMPLOYED JOURNEYMEN
AT VARIOUS STAGES OF THE GLASS BOTTLE MAKING TRADE,
DECEMBER 1869

	No. OF UNBOUND YOUTHS AND STAGES OF EMPLOYMENT..					No. OF UNEMPLOYED JOURNEYMEN					
	BOTTLE MAKING	BOTTLE BLOWING	GATHERING AND BLOWING	GATHERING	GATHERING AND WETTING-OFF	TOTAL	BOTTLEMAKERS	BLOWERS	GATHERERS AND BLOWERS	GATHERERS	TOTAL
Castleford				2	1	3	7	10	2	2	21
Thornhill Lees		1				1	3	2	1	3	9
Swinton (a)	1	2		9	4	18	1	2	1	2	6
Hunslet			1	2		3	1	4	1	2	8
Barnsley			1	3	2	6	4	2	1	2	9
Conisbro				1		1	-	-	-	-	-
Kilnhurst				5		5	1	-	-	-	1
TOTALS	1	3	2	22	7	37	17	20	6	11	54 (b)

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 304.

(a) Swinton total of unbound youths includes two taking-in.

(b) Journeymen unemployed should also include 3 blowers, 3 gatherer/blowers, and 1 gatherer at branches with no unbound youths, making a total of 61 in all.

artisan labour when taken into consideration with the number of apprentices shown in Table 8:3 (supra). As indicated, this appreciably changes the dimension of the apparent cutback in apprentice numbers during the years previous to 1869. The data also indicates the prevalence of some manufacturers to utilise unbound labour as a means of maximising production while avoiding the moral obligation and material provision attendant upon observance of formalised apprenticeship. The fact that almost three quarters of the unbound youths were already engaged at journeyman stages of the trade was a significant enough threat for eventual displacement of Society members, as indicated by comparison with the number of journeymen unemployed featured in the Table. When the figures concerning unbound youths are added to those concerning apprentices, the potential threat of artisan unemployment in the event of trade depression is even more apparent. The prognosis is also confirmed with regard to the age range of those in the course of apprenticeship shown in Table 8:5.

TABLE 8:5 NUMBER AND AGES OF APPRENTICES EMPLOYED IN EACH DISTRICT OF THE YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY, DECEMBER 1869

BRANCHES	No. OF APPRENTICES AT THE AGES STATED BELOW, NEXT BIRTHDAY							TOTAL APPS
	15 YEARS	16 YEARS	17 YEARS	18 YEARS	19 YEARS	20 YEARS	21 YEARS	
Castleford	-	-	7	14	24	28	30	103
Swinton	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hunslet	2	-	7	5	4	4	7	29
Thornhill Lees	-	-	10	8	4	8	10	40
Ferrybridge	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
Wakefield	-	1	3	-	2	-	-	6
Barnsley	1	1	-	3	1	2	1	9
Conisbro	-	2	1	4	3	-	3	13
Masbro	-	-	-	1	1	1	3	6
Kilnhurst	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTALS	3	4	28	35	39	43	55	207

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 303

The Table shows 83% of the total apprentice force within the range of Society recruitment. Of these, 26.5% were in the last year of their apprenticeship and, therefore, of almost immediate consequence in terms of journeyman displacement.

The adoption of a fixed number of apprentices in proportion to a given number of journeymen as a means of controlling trade progression rather than as an immediate necessity to redress adverse ratios is clear from the text of the circular sent to Yorkshire manufacturers suggesting a joint meeting to consider the subject, which stated

"We are convinced that the present mode of learning (sic) the apprentices the trade is most unsatisfactory, both as regards employers and workmen."²⁰

A limited response by the manufacturers led the subsequent Delegate Meeting to request the Council to ballot the membership on the propositions:

1. That the maximum number of apprentices be three to five holes.
2. That the Apprentice Committee be empowered to enter into a contract with the employers on apprentice regulation.
3. That the regulation be applied even in the event of acceptance by only part of the employers.²¹

The Council, however, resolved that

"..... the Committee ascertain what regulation the employers would agree to before submitting a proposition to the members [who] should be consulted as to whether or not they would be willing to adopt a regulation with only part of the employers".²²

Clearly, despite its ascendant position, the Council was unsure of its power to enforce a uniform settlement of the issue. Therefore, in the realisation that partial observation of any regulation would result in discrepancy between various branches, the Council wished to place the onus on the membership and avoid the odium which would otherwise attach to the Council as a result of an ineffectual outcome following a unilateral decision. In the event, representatives of ten Yorkshire firms met the workmen's Committee at the Station

Hotel, Normanton, 9th May 1870.²³ The employers strongly objected to the absence of any propositions from the Committee and it was therefore resolved

"That the workmen draw up a series of propositions respecting the Apprentice question in all its bearings, viz:-
The number to each house, the age when fastened, and the age when they shall go to the different stages, if qualified - the same to be sent to the Chairman (Mr. Macvay), and he call a meeting of the trade, to discuss the same and reply to the workmen through Mr. Greenwood."²⁴

As a result, the Workmen's Committee prepared a number of propositions which were submitted to the Council and ultimately members for approval. It was proposed

"That the highest number of apprentices be three to every five holes: firms having only one house and working four holes to have no more than two apprentices, or working six holes to have no more than three apprentices: and firms having two houses and working eight or nine holes to have no more than five apprentices".²⁵

The greatest emphasis was, however, placed on the rate of progression through the stages of the trade, rather than the mere numerical observance of the proposed ratio. To this end, formal entry into the trade was conditional upon youths having passed through the preliminary stages of taking-in and wetting-off.²⁶ Three propositions stipulated specific ages at which "a progressive amount of instruction" be provided in accordance with a particular stage of the craft. The measure curtailed rapid promotion and thereby obviated the debasement of craft skills and the deterioration of economic status occurring from a surplus of unemployed journeymen.²⁷ Further restriction on trade entry was contained in the proposals that no unbound youth be allowed to gather, blow or finish, and that no youth in excess of fourteen years of age be bound apprentice. However, a three year transitional period following the adoption of the proposed resolutions, allowed youths to be apprenticed up to the

age of sixteen providing that no journeyman be removed for the direct purpose of putting forward apprentices.²⁸ Despite the obvious importance of the issue for their future working conditions and status, an apparent degree of apathy and some reservation concerning the terms of some proposals, is reflected in the votes of the members²⁹ (cf chapter 3 (b) supra). Nevertheless, the propositions obtained the approval of the members and the Committee was empowered to settle the issue with the employers.³⁰ Settlement was delayed, however, as a result of counter proposals drawn-up and presented to his Conisbro workforce by George Kilner. Kilner's proposals resulted in some modification of those originally drawn-up by the Union, but the modifications proposed by Kilner and the revisions of the Committee were at such variance regarding both apprentice ratio and trade progression that no compromise could be effected.³¹ Consequently, although Kilner faced with the incipience of Union power, reinforced by the prospective trade boom, withdrew his proposals and expressed himself in favour of those submitted by the workmen, no agreement was signed.³² The inconclusive nature of the 'apprentice question' is attributable to several factors arising from the conditions within the trade circa 1870-71. The balance of industrial power, although tilted towards the Union, was such that while sufficient to ensure respect and caution on the part of the principal employers for Union proposals, was not yet sufficient to obtain ready compliance. In addition, the lack of a formally constituted negotiating body, representing the manufacturers obviated any possibility of uniform trade agreement on the issue. The situation thus enabled employers such as Kilner, with his recognised antipathy to 'anti-progressive' trade unionism to indulge in industrial tokenism and thereby provide a lead for fellow employers to follow.

Within the union ranks the desire to obtain an agreement on the 'apprentice question' arose less from the disproportionate ratio of apprentice to journeyman labour, which compared favourably with that within the Flint Glass Trade, than from the need for restriction on the rate of trade progression. By 1872, when the Union had attained sufficient power to enforce its demands on all employers (as is evident from its enforcement of the Uniform List of Wages and Numbers), the same power was sufficient to ensure acceptance of the Union policy on inter-stage progression and trade promotion without the need for formal recognition by the manufacturers. Thus, acceptance of the

Union's proposed Apprentice Regulations was of a piecemeal nature leaving the Central Secretary to ruefully observe at a later date that

"These Resolutions never got established by the Trade. Some of the smaller firms adopted them, while the larger rejected them."³³

(b) Co-operative Production.

The utilisation of union funds for the purpose of co-operative production was the subject of increasing consideration by the Flint Glass Makers and Glass Bottle Makers trade Societies from the third quarter of the nineteenth century. Following the decline in the standard of living, occasioned by rapid industrialisation, the practice of workers in particular trades combining their resources as a means of absorbing the unemployed and to subsidize their funds during prolonged trade disputes, became increasingly frequent.³⁴ Examples of workers co-operatives established for the above purpose have been traced to the 1760s.³⁵ Leeson regards early co-operative ventures³⁶ characterised by small, densely situated workshops in which manual skills and a strict regard for customary trade observance predominated, as providing the impetus for more ambitious schemes organised by the engineers, brush makers, tinsmiths and others.³⁶ Cole has noted 163 examples, many of which were established by Junta-led unions, between 1862 and 1880.³⁷ Clearly the attitudes and actions of the glassmakers concerning the subject of co-operative production was part of a general developmental trend amongst the artisan workers during the century before 1850. Examination of the influential factors will be valuable for an understanding of the ideology of the glassmakers in the context of an aristocracy of labour. The influence of Owenite co-operative experimentation, coupled with that of the Chartist inspired National Land Company³⁸ and reinforced by the success of the Rochdale Pioneers exerted an undoubted influence upon artisan workers. By the mid-nineteenth century the marriage of Owenite ideals and practical experience had become the basis for an alternative to laissez-faire capitalism which would ensure workers a due share of industrial wealth and thereby enhance their social and economic status. The view was encouraged by the school of Christian Socialists who in 1849 had founded the Society for Promoting Working Mens Associations, which advocated the establishment of

workers' co-operatives.³⁹ It was not merely the prospect of material wealth, however, which made the co-operative ideal so attractive and enduring to the artisan glassmakers. The failure of most co-operative schemes which had proved to be economically viable during phases of trade boom only to collapse in the face of adverse trade conditions, stressed the material hazard. The failure of the A.S.E. venture during the engineers' dispute of 1852 was of particular significance in drawing the attention of the Flint Glass Makers to the danger to union funds invested in a co-operative venture, for Matsumura has shown that the A.S.E. were active in the encouragement of the Flint Glass Makers to commence a union-funded co-operative in 1852.⁴⁰ It is, therefore, obvious that the co-operative ideal was deep-seated and had an underlying psychological nature which could rationalise failure and yet retain intact its doctrinaire principles. The pages of union journals, particularly of the Flint Glass Makers Magazine, bear many manifestations of the abstract nature underlying co-operative idealism. The evil of drunkenness in promoting poverty, misery and crime, as well as being instrumental in depriving artisans of the will as well as the means to reform their existing state of being, is constantly stressed.⁴¹ The belief in human perfection through moral enlightenment, summarised so succinctly in the slogan 'Knowledge is Power', underlines the belief in education as a means of combatting the apathy and ignorance and of improving the social position of the glassmakers.⁴² Allied to the twin tenets of self-help and self-improvement, was the influence of Nonconformism which permeated the temperance movement within and beyond the sphere of unionism. This provided the basis of moral behaviour and belief in Social Justice and promoted the educational attainments of many union activists.⁴³ In view of the above considerations, it is not surprising that the glass industry with its labour-intensive production methods dependent upon skilled craftsmanship, should provide a theoretical ideal for the application of the principles of co-operative production. Matsumura has outlined the nature of the origins of the proposals for co-operative production by the Flint Glass Makers' Society in the early 1850s.⁴⁴ Volume I of the Magazine abounds with Executive editorials and items of correspondence presenting the practical ease with which such ventures could be undertaken. The view is often presented with a simplistic and naive disregard for a myriad indirect but influential factors, such as the understanding of economic principles or labour organisation necessary for successful

business management. Even the more educated and resourceful members of the Unions were lacking experience and expertise in practical management, while the lack of education among the rank and file was a serious constraint since the active participation of individual shareholders was a desirable feature of a Union sponsored co-operative. Anything less than personal involvement meant that the artisan was merely hiring his skill to an alternative employer, no matter how benevolent or paternal the Union might be. True, the majority of the employers, particularly within the Yorkshire bottle trade, were former artisans,⁴⁵ a fact which may explain the casual assumption by other artisans of the ease with which a small business could be founded. Private firms founded on limited capital, in time of trade depression, by exploitation of the workforce often secured a precarious existence based on underselling the market. In the event of business failure, individual proprietors could fall back on their craft and re-engage as workmen with the degree of their collapse having minimal effect upon the trade in general. The failure of a scheme involving Union liability would, however, have serious repercussions both for the trade and the prestige of the Union and its members.

Among the advocates of co-operative production within the ranks of the flint glassmakers two schools of thought are apparent. Joseph Leicester, District Secretary for London, regarded a co-operative works as a means of reducing unemployment and thereby safeguarding union funds.⁴⁶ Others, such as Central Secretary, Benjamin Smart of Glasgow, saw co-operation as the inevitable but long-term outcome of Union action against the capitalist system.⁴⁷ The latter view found expression in the suggestion of 'Mentor', a correspondent to the Magazine whose idea was to start a works comprising of five twelve pot furnaces on a capital outlay of £10,000, half subscribed by Society members and the rest by public shareholders.⁴⁸ 'Mentors' practical suggestion for 'the elimination of entrepreneur' through the gradual control of the whole trade by the workmen is less significant for its economic viability than for its expressed desire for co-operative action as the instrument of artisan independence and self respect.⁴⁹ The validity of the claims made by the adherents of co-operative production was questioned by a group of 'Realists' within the Flint Glass Makers' Society. Influenced by the failure of Owenite schemes and dubious about the claims for the practical

short-term benefits such as the absorption of large numbers of unemployed, as well as the capital limitations of proposed schemes, the opponents also questioned the economic, if not ethical, disadvantages arising from "entering the lists of competition."⁵⁰ Despite the fervour of the 'idealists', co-operative production was confined to the realms of debate. Matsumura ascribes three reasons for the failure to implement co-operative schemes: the loss of enthusiasm by the Christian Socialists, which caused a decline in national advocacy of co-operation; legal constraints and the growing financial stability of the Society which enabled the adoption of alternative measures for the care of the unemployed members.⁵¹ However applicable the analysis to the Flint Glass Makers, the above considerations do not appear to have inhibited the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers who, by the mid 1850s, had established a co-operative manufactory in the glassworks at Ferrybridge owned by Sir John Ramsden.⁵² The precise date of establishment is uncertain. Greenwood, writing a little over half a century later and referring to a time almost a decade before his direct association with Society affairs, dated the commencement of the co-operative works as 1854, which would coincide with the height of the initial boom in the Yorkshire container trade and therefore an appropriate time to start such a venture.⁵³ Greenwood notes that at the time of the downturn in trade, 1856, the manufacturers claimed that the Society's works were underselling them, but does not make clear whether the price-cutting was the outcome of successful marketing or a desperate attempt to ensure the continued survival of the co-operative works.⁵⁴

Given the workers lack of business experience, it seems most likely that underselling was a survival tactic. Speaking on the occasion of the first Trade Union Congress, held at Manchester in 1868, John Wild, a long serving member of the Union and himself active in co-operative trading,⁵⁵ stated that at the time of the 1856 trade dispute the Yorkshire Society

".... possessed an accumulated fund of £1,100 and they thought it desirable to combine and commence business for themselves. They accordingly did commence on their own account, but after continuing a month they had to give up from want of funds and the opposition of the masters."⁵⁶

The "opposition of the masters" took the form of a lock-out which left the Society with its funds tied up in the Co-operative Works, unable to sustain the financial burden imposed by unemployed victims. The collapse of the venture was primarily because "The Society's funds were entirely gone",⁵⁷ but it is not improbable that the masters exploited what Musson has seen as a weakness which frequently undermined co-operative ventures - the workers dependence upon the goodwill of landowners and others owning land and capital.⁵⁸ Paradoxically, it was the advent of the trade dispute of 1858 - 1859 which revived active interest in co-operation within the Flint Glass industry. Matsumura records evidence of an attempt to form a Joint Stock Company at Stourbridge which although approved by the Conference of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, failed to raise the required capital of £5,000 due to unavailability of funds and insubstantial consideration of project requirements.⁵⁹ The "bitter antagonism of capital and labour", which had engendered the scheme,⁶⁰ together with the psychological manifestation of artisan aspiration underlining the perennial appeal of 'Co-operation', resulted in renewed emphasis of the subject during the 1860s. Encouragement for co-operation was not confined to the sphere of Society membership for the Magazines of the period lend weight to the advocacy of the Society's enthusiasts by carrying reprints of speeches on the subject of co-operation by eminent figures outside the industry,⁶¹ or reports of addresses at social gatherings of the Society members by trade sympathisers such as Alexander Campbell.⁶² The scheme suggested by Joseph Leicester, based on the costs involved in the operation of a 4-5 pot furnace, producing lamp glasses at current (London) district rates is a typical example of its type in both its design and the revaluation of the underlying economic theory viz:

	£	s	d
3½ chaldrons of coke @ 15/- each	4	10	0
½ cwt. clay			9
4 men @ 7/- per day/night per 5 days	7	0	0
2 boys @ 5/- per week		10	0
1 man taker out/miscellaneous work	1	0	0
Miscellaneous expenses re running costs		10	0
	16	3	3
Price of 32 x 14 pots @ c 7/- each and requiring 2 per week		14	0
	16	17	0

	£	s	d
Output 40 gross chimneys @ 16/- per gross	24	0	0
Balance	7	2	9
Rent and Management	3	10	0
Profit	3	12	7

On the basis of this projection, Leicester claimed a saving of £200 per annum to Society funds which would otherwise be spent on unemployment donation.⁶³ Leicesters 'prospectus' yielded no practical results,⁶⁴ but a letter under the pen name 'A Little Higher', dated 1865, drew attention to the successful venture of a group of bottle-hands at Mixbro (sic) who had formed a co-operative with two bottle houses at Mexbro and three at nearby Swinton.⁶⁵ The correspondent drew attention to the favourable prospects for the medical and gasalier branches of the flint glass trade, stating that the overriding demand was capital for wages as materials were a low cost factor. Hunslet, it was suggested, would be ideal for the establishment of a co-operative glasshouse since one was readily available for operation. It was suggested that a newspaper advertisement be placed,

"Wanted - 8 men to work a flint glass house under the Limited Liability Act. Shares £50 each and to be within one month's call. The company to be composed of three bottle, makers, three blowers and one moonraker, and one servitor. For further information write to the D.S., Hunslet."⁶⁶

In 1867, 'An Old Co-operator' presented a more ambitious prospectus based on £10,000 capital made up of £1 shares, half to be paid upon allotment and the remainder, if required, to be paid by four monthly calls of 2s-6d. It was suggested that half the capital be subscribed by the Flint Glass Makers' Society and the other half by individual members and others sympathetic to the undertaking. The aims of the scheme were defined as being to

"..... extend, economise and improve the manufacture of flint glass, and to allocate the profits derived therefrom equitably betwix capital, labour and education of apprentices and others."⁶⁷

Once legally incorporated, the company was to find a suitable site and engage both workforce and manager who were to be paid in accordance with the terms offered by respectable manufacturers and Society rules. It was proposed that 10% of the nett profit be paid into a reserve fund to cover depreciation of plant, whilst interest to shareholders was not to exceed 10% per annum, with the surplus equally divided between labour, capital and education. An example, based on supposed paid-up capital of £5,000 and wages of £2,000, yielding a profit of £1,000 which it was stated "may be considerably augmented by good trade and wise economy on the part of the Manager and workmen", was provided by way of illustration -

	£
10% on £1,000 profit for Reserve Fund	100
10% interest on £5,000 capital	500
Bonus on £2,000 paid as wages to labour @ 2/- per pound	200
Bonus on £500 paid as interest or wages to capital @ 2/- per pound	50
Bonus to Education Fund	150
Division of total annual profit	<u>1000</u>

The benefit to the Society with its £2,500 investment would be £250, plus £25 bonus on the interest. A working man would receive 10 shillings on his £5 capital, with 1 shilling bonus on his interest and a further bonus of £10 on his wages, his annual gain being £10-11-0.⁶⁸ The psychological undertone of the individualist school of co-operators is indicative of a developing tendency by skilled artisans to embrace capitalist values and through elevation to the ranks of small capitalist become prey to the mores of bourgeois reactionaries. The danger of embourgeoisment arising from the blurring of the distinctive aims of capital and labour was the more alarming when seen in the context of Executive attitudes which influenced Conferences and shaped Society policy. Matsumura has amply illustrated the continual fervour of the Society's Executives for the co-operative ideal as expressed at trade conference.⁶⁹ The Executive enthusiasm reached its apogee at the Edinburgh Conference of 1867 when the whole spectrum of co-operative production was discussed in the context of profitable investment of Society's rapidly accumulating funds which were then in excess of £9,000, but drew a low rate of bank interest. Conference passed a resolution expressing confidence in

the principle of co-operative trading and recommended to the Trade that a scheme be adopted with individual share-holding as its capital basis.⁷⁰ It was further resolved that William Packwood, a self-confessed enthusiast for "uniting capital and labour under co-operative arrangements",⁷¹ and current delegate for the Stourbridge District, take charge of the matter and "report from time to time all particulars in relation thereto". A working party was formed by Packwood, "in order to facilitate the progress of the movement". The six-man committee included the venerable J. T. Wilkinson, newly appointed Central Secretary and (the eventually notorious) Joseph Rudge.⁷² Robert Hill of Rotherham was the sole Yorkshire representative. Despite the active preparation of the Packwood Committee and enthusiastic response to its suggestions, by an element within the Society, the scheme was abortive.⁷³ Matsumura has concluded that for the majority of Society members the co-operative ideal as a means of ensuring social, intellectual and economic advancement and the elimination of industrial strife between capital and labour, was far too utopian and too risky to entrust to it the investment of Society funds.⁷⁴ The innate conservatism of the artisan glassmakers lends support to Matsumura's conclusions, explaining their practical reluctance to accept unproven schemes and their mental incapacity to envisage an alternative system which did not incorporate the role of the entrepreneur. To acknowledge a degree of natural reluctance is, however, only a partial explanation of the rejection of the ideal. On the assumption that the leaders of Society, who in general terms favoured co-operative production, formed an intellectual, craft and social elite, it is illogical to ascribe to the trunk and file the rejection of the visionary ideals embraced by co-operatists on grounds of intellectual reasoning alone. It is not improbable that anti-co-operative propaganda expounded by Beesly and others⁷⁵ found a sympathetic ear in the collective body of workmen innured with the simplistic ideals of primitive democracy and suspicious of centralist policies. To such men the separation between master and men was a natural social and industrial condition. The rentier mentality with its economic benefits for a minority of shareholding artisans promised no benefits to those who sought socio-economic elevation within the context of the existing system. Viewed against the previous background of assault on the customs of the trade and the hostile reaction this had provoked among organised labour, co-operation was incompatible with the aims and ideals of orthodox

trade unionism. The mental prejudice of opponents to co-operation was reinforced by more practical considerations. To a myriad previous failures of co-operative ventures could be added the more recent examples of capitalist inspired schemes for industrial partnership. Influenced by the profit-sharing schemes which were in vogue from the mid 1860s, the York flint glass manufacturers, Spence and Wilson, upon company reorganisation in 1864, designated £3,000 of its £100,000 shares to the workmen "as they were the source of the wealth and therefore deserved a share".⁷⁶ A report reprinted from the Glasgow Times,⁷⁷ stated that the wages of York flint hands had increased between 10% and 15% and that half the £100,000 stock was held by the employers and £3,000 by the workers who were expected to obtain a dividend of £300 per annum. Similarly, at the Park Glassworks, Birmingham, the firm of Lloyds and Summerfield had introduced a system whereby each of the employees held at least one £5 share issued at par. The seven departmental foremen were works directors and in that capacity worked with an elected committee of working shareholders.⁷⁸ The high hopes held by the Union in consequence of these developments were short-lived, for by 1867 both had come to an end. At Birmingham an attempt to increase the number constituting the move was resisted by the workers who stopped production. Central Secretary Benjamin Smart commented,

"The Doctor's (i.e. Dr. Lloyd) system is to give the men 5% more and raise the numbers 25%, that is to give them 6d and raise their work rate by 2/6d."

Smart therefore concluded that there was

".... no hope of industrial co-partnership with such men".⁷⁹

At York, the rift between management and workers occurred as a result of the employer stopping a bottlehouse and dismissing the redundant journeymen who were members of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society.⁸⁰ Such acrimony resulted that the Company vowed never to employ members of the Yorkshire Society again and the branch was closed and never reclaimed by the Society.⁸¹ By 1872, the firm was trading under the name Hutchinson and Spence which suggests reconstitution of the partnership had resulted in the abandonment of the co-partnership scheme. Despite failures and shortcomings the prospect for participation in co-operative and co-partnership schemes continued to lure an element within the glassmaking fraternity. In 1871, for instance the

reconstruction of the Castleford Glass Bottle Company, as a limited liability firm, resulted in a proposal to allow the workmen to take up shares. Tempted by the urgings of their employers, the workmen brought the subject for consideration by Castleford Branch. The matter was referred to the Delegate Meeting which, having considered the prospectus, passed a resolution

"That in the opinion of this meeting it will not be to the interests of this Society for members to take shares in the Castleford Glass Bottle Company Limited."⁸²

It is evident that divided opinions existed in both trade Societies concerning the subject of co-operation. Indeed, differing opinions existed with regard to the aims and definition of co-operative production, while the degree of enthusiasm for the subject varied in accordance with the circumstances of trade. It is significant that the view of the Flint Glass Makers' Executive was transformed from the advocacy of co-operation as an alternative system which would supercede capitalism, to an acceptance of co-operative production within the context of the capitalist structure, as a means of ensuring peaceful and harmonious industrial relations, thereby securing to the Society a profitable return on the investment of its funds. The leaders of the Yorkshire Society with the experience of the practical difficulties attendant upon co-operative production and the bitter memories of failure through capitalist opposition, adopted a more militant attitude than their flint glass contemporaries. Recognising more clearly the inadequacy of co-operation as a vehicle for the socio-economic advancement of the Society and its members, they accordingly dismissed the subject from further consideration. The advent of trade prosperity in the early 1870s secured for the glass-makers of both Societies the advancement of wealth, security and its accompanying status inherently promised by the co-operative ideal. Advancement was achieved by means of the well tried orthodoxy of industrial bargaining than the more risky investment of accumulated funds in co-operative venture; a method more satisfactory to the innately conservative artisans. The conclusion that

^ "Great adventures are not to be expected from men with pedestrian ambitions" is justifiably applicable to the glassmakers.⁸³ But, whereas the

practical experience had laid the ghost of co-operation within the Yorkshire Society by 1870, it was only with the return of austere trade conditions of the 1880s that the Flint Glass Makers were enabled to exorcise its spirit through practical application of the theory of co-operative production.

(c) Emigration.

The efficacy of emigration as a means of improving the welfare of both individual and nation, had its basis in the wage-fund doctrines of Adam Smith and the population theories of Thomas Malthus. The subsequent support of Ricardo, Mill and Fawcett, ensured that by the middle of the nineteenth century the promotion of emigration had become a fundamental element of the economic orthodoxy.

The Webbs, noting the provision of emigration facilities by trade unions during the period 1845 - 1880, suggested such facilities as indicative of acceptance of the classical economic doctrines of the era by union leaders.⁸⁵

Erickson, in substantiation of the Webb's assertion, saw the encouragement of emigration by the older established unions through the provision of money and advice until the third quarter of the nineteenth century, as the practical expression of adherence to classical economic theory.⁸⁵ This interpretation has, however, been challenged by Clements who argues that trade union ideas and policies were formed in accordance with the changing needs and conceptions of union leadership and organisation and that in consequence of changing circumstance the unions did not embrace emigration with the fervour acceptance of of contemporary economic theory would have demanded of them.⁸⁶ In support of this contention, Clements states that much information featured in union periodicals was unfavourable to emigration and cites the correspondence of an adverse nature featured in the Flint Glass Makers' Magazine as an example.⁸⁷

The Webb hypothesis has also been challenged by Cole on the grounds that its material basis was influenced by the 'Junta' and is therefore unrepresentative of the entire union movement, a substantial element of which, under the leadership of George Potter, comprised more class conscious militant, northern-based, provincial unions.⁸⁸ Clements, while accepting Cole's point, has questioned whether the

small craft unions under Potter's leadership were more militant than the Junta led 'benefit' Societies and sees the greater resources and organisation of the latter as the crucial factor concerning attitudes behind the adoption of emigration policies.⁸⁹

Examination of the policies and attitudes of the glassmakers Societies towards the issue of emigration must be considered in the context of the debate outlined above.

With the reorganisation of their Society, in 1849, the Flint Glass Makers resolved to form a committee whose object was to send surplus hands to America at the rate of 6 men per month for 6 months or a longer period if necessary.⁹⁰

Evidence exists of casual emigration by artisans of both Societies before the adoption of official sponsorship,⁹¹ showing a traffic to America in response to the demand for artisans in Pittsburgh, Brooklyn, New Jersey and Philadelphia.

The origin of such emigration may merely be found in the propensity of skilled operatives to seek better opportunities,⁹² or the last resort of victimised union leaders.⁹³ Whatever the origin of the movement, it is clear that by the mid-nineteenth century, the Flint Glass Makers and other unions had adopted emigration policies as the means of reducing surplus labour and thereby removing the burden of heavy unemployment expenditure and the danger of undermining Society principles which the existence of surplus labour imposed. The myriad circumstances favouring the adoption of such policies⁹⁴ assist our understanding of the decision by the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to replace voluntary subscriptions by members of individual districts with an official grant of £8-10-0d per member from central Fund.⁹⁵ Lack of an efficient centrally organised system at the time of inception seems to have led to some abuse.⁹⁶ As early as 1850 William Sivewright, the second Central Secretary of the reformed Society,⁹⁷ in an Address to the Trade, stated that the scheme to send unemployed members to America was a failure but nevertheless, advocated perseverance with the policy.⁹⁸

On his assumption of office as Central Secretary in 1852, William Gillinder, considered stepping up emigration as an outlet for the

unemployed, the existence of which was costing the Society almost double the total income.⁹⁹ Gillinder was deterred from such action by the fear that such a step would merely make room for more boys to enter the trade.¹⁰⁰ Gillinder may also have had in mind a degree of criticism by rank and file members of the official policy which by indiscriminate access to the emigration grant allowed new members to obtain financial benefit disproportionate to their entrance subscription.¹⁰¹

Gillinder's Address to the Trade, in August 1853, concerning the revival of the Society's finances stated,

".... we have amassed a capital of £1,400 which will send 70 men to Australia at £20 each, this alone will keep down surplus labour".¹⁰²

This is interesting, not only for the overt declaration of the Society's aim to use emigration to remove surplus labour, but also for its unspoken assumptions. Firstly, the statement was made at a time of unparalleled prosperity within the Society. This substantiates the point made by Erickson that the state of union funds rather than lack of faith in the policy of emigration, explains the degree of fluctuation by unions in undertaking such policy.¹⁰³ Secondly, the advocacy of Australia as the outlet for emigrants would appear to give substance to Erickson's theory regarding union acceptance of classical economic theory which held that emigration to underdeveloped colonial territory was more beneficial to the nation (and by implication, to the unions) than the encouragement of settlement in areas of industrial rivalry such as the United States.¹⁰⁴ Whilst accepting the first premise, at least in the context of the Flint Glass Makers' financial standing between August 1853 and November 1856, which marks the first and most extensive phase of Society emigration policy, some qualification is necessary concerning the second premise. The Californian gold rush of 1849 had further increased the emigrant traffic to the U.S.A. and had, by 1854, assisted the deterioration in working conditions in that land. Australia, which during the 1840s had passed through a period of depression affecting its restricted labour market, was boosted economically by the discovery of gold in 1851, thus making it more attractive for would-be emigrants who could take advantage of either state or union sponsorship to settle there.¹⁰⁵ Furthermore, the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, reiterating Gillinder's belief in emigration as "a means to an end",¹⁰⁶ not only suggested that the third £1,000 of accumulated Society funds should be

allocated for use as emigration grants to send 50 men per year to Australia, but that the grant of £8-10-0d per emigrant to America be retained.

Thus, the scheme of discriminatory grants, based on membership qualification of a 3 year minimum viz:-

<u>Years Membership.</u>	<u>America.</u>	<u>Australia.</u>
3	£8-10-0d	£12-10-0d
5	£9-10-0d	£15-00-0d
7	£10-10-0d	£18-00-0d

proposed by Gillinder¹⁰⁷ and accepted by a majority vote of the Membership¹⁰⁸ far from being for the reasons advanced by Erickson, more clearly reflects Clement's contention that the Society, like others, was merely utilising emigration in accordance with its own tactical needs.¹⁰⁹ The discriminatory nature of the emigration grant would, therefore, reflect the difference in the cost of the passage to Australia rather than an attempt by the leadership of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to sway members in accordance with deeply-held belief in classical economic doctrine. This is surely underlined by the retention of the Atlantic grant and the example of William Gillinder himself, who, the same year (1854) chose to emigrate to America rather than Australia.

The reason for the apparent pro-Australian bias on the part of the Flint Glass Makers' Executive, may be explained in more practical terms than adherence to economic orthodoxy. Thus, in suggesting repayment of the emigration grant by members returning to England before the expiration of a stipulated period, the Central Committee stated,

"..... it would not do to give a man a chance before he has tried the new land fairly and honestly, to come back again at the expense of Society".¹¹⁰

In view of the shorter distance, cheaper fare, ease of passage, and overwhelming preference for America, shown by the emigrant members, it is understandable that the Flint Glass Makers' Executive should see the danger to their emigration policy from adverse reports and therefore, in pursuit of their emigration scheme seek to settle members in less accessible areas.¹¹¹ Additional support for such an attitude is contained in the fact that many migrants worked their

passage as members of the ships crew, and inclination more easily fulfilled in Atlantic transmigration than the less regular and more rigorous passage to and from the Australian Continent.¹¹²

By 1857 improved domestic conditions had not only reduced the desire of members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society to obtain emigration grants but also the active advocacy of emigration by the leadership. Between February 1856 and February 1865, unemployment donation dropped from £740-8-11d to £185-0-2d per quarter, whilst membership of the Society rose from an average annual figure of 943 to 1,604, and the assets of the Society rose from £1,880-0-0 to £5,944-15-8¹/₂d during the corresponding period. Clearly, the Society would well have afforded to step up its emigration scheme at this time, but chose not to do so out of deference to the law of supply and demand. The situation reinforces Clement's assertion of tactical expediency which is supported by the research of Matsumura, that advocacy of emigration by the Executive of the Flint Glass Makers' Society occurred only at times when barriers were sufficiently strong enough to prevent entry into the trade by unskilled workers.¹¹³ By the time of the Manchester Conference, March 1864, it was strongly urged that the Emigration Rule be suspended pro-tem due to the shortage of journeymen at home.¹¹⁴

The vicissitudes of the Society's emigration scheme was not merely decreed by considerations arising from the state of the domestic market, however, but also in accordance with the situation abroad, and more particularly in the U.S.A. where the manufacturers sought to engage emigrant artisans to crush the incipient unionism. Thus, an appeal from the Flint Glass Makers of America for emigrants to boycott the Boston area was supported by the Executive of the British Society.¹¹⁵ Indeed, it would appear that industrial conflict in America was influential in forcing a revision of the Emigration Rule of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, for in 1867 emigrants were enabled to retain their connection with the Society by payment in advance of a nominal subscription of ten shillings, whereby in the event of returning to Britain, full membership and immediate benefit rights were ensured.¹¹⁶ The underlying reason for the change seems to have been primarily to diffuse the ideals and principles of the Society abroad,¹¹⁷ and may have contained the germ of overseas expansion by the Society, perhaps by amalgamation (via reciprocation) with the Flint Glass Makers of America, and thereby emulate the A.^{S.E.}E.U. and other craft

unions.¹¹⁸ It is of interest to note that the G.B.M. Society, at a later date, despite (or perhaps because of) the lack of co-operation by their American counterparts, refused to sanction extension of the 32nd Rule to emigrant members.¹¹⁹

By the late 1860s a deterioration in the domestic situation resulted in a second phase of emigration fervour with the Executive of the Flint Glass Makers' Society emphasising Australia as the most desirable area of settlement due to indications of the over-stocking of the American labour market. The terms of the emigration grant were modified, with a two-tier, discriminatory grant suggested to ensure that no member received more than he had previously contributed to the Society. The Central Committee's proposal was:

<u>Years Membership.</u>	<u>Australia.</u>	<u>America.</u>
3	£6-10-0d	£6-10-0d
5	£10-10-0d	£6-10-0d

with the additional provision of honorary membership outlined above, such members being denied superannuation or funeral entitlement.¹²⁰

The scheme which was approved by a Trade Vote of 1187 to 368, representing 90.35% of the 1721 members,¹²¹ marks a somewhat cautious attitude by the Executive which may reflect the need to resort to emigration as a means of preserving financial solvency, but a lack of conviction regarding its efficacy. The unemployment donation paid to members had almost doubled between the first and second quarters of 1867 and by May 1869, had reached an unprecedented £883-17-0d. The increased expenditure of the Society was reflected in the two middle quarters of 1869, when total outlay exceeded total income by £396-17-6d, causing some erosion of Society reserves. Even so, with per capita funds of £5-3-10d, the position in August 1869 was much more stable than that in August 1854, when the first phase of emigration was launched by the Society with per capita funds of only £2-12-4d.¹²² A variety of explanations may account for the apparent caution, ranging from the wider and speedier dissemination of information regarding prospects abroad which coloured the attitude of the Executive as well as would-be emigrants, to the changed political climate at home in which the recent extension of the franchise had encouraged the attitude amongst the artisans that remedies for working class socio-economic ailments could and should be found near home, an attitude which was increasingly adopted during the following decade.¹²³

Regarding the enthusiasm of the leadership, the role of the Central Secretary could be crucial for upon election to office he nominated the other members of the Executive and would, in all probability, select members whose attitude and thinking were in keeping with his own.¹²⁴ Thus, the Birmingham based C.C. appointed by C.S. William Gillinder in 1852, wholly adopted his enthusiasm for emigration, whilst the C.C. nominated by C.S. Thomas Wilkinson in 1867, although Birmingham based, was noticeably less enthusiastic.

Some encouragement was provided to supplement the emigration policy of the Executive in the form of letters and articles concerning the subject which were reprinted in the Flint Glass Makers' Magazines.¹²⁵ Not all such material was favourable to emigration and thus it indicates, as Clements has observed, the refusal of the Executive to resort to misrepresentation in the implementation of their emigration policy.¹²⁶

The third phase of emigration was confined to the period November 1869 to August 1870. During that period 8 members received grants totalling £57-11-0d.¹²⁷ The period exactly coincides with that in which both the Junta and its allies combined with the unionist segment led by George Potter, both elements of which had influential connections with the glass makers' unions. Clements, in noting the pro-emigration 'alliance' has also suggested that its influence was limited until circumstances compelled a revival of interest in emigration by individual unions as a self-protective measure.¹²⁸

Matsumura asserts that the short-lived phase of emigration amongst the Flint Glass Makers at this period can be ascribed to the effects of foreign competition, the affect of which was strongly felt by the flint glass trade. This resulted in a strong reaction against the emigration scheme which the membership considered to be subsidising foreign manufacture of high-quality wares encroaching on the British market.¹²⁹ Matsumura indicates that the data concerning the Flint Glass Makers' Society does not entirely support the Webbs' assertion that the active participation of trade unions regarding emigration was abandoned for a while before being revived circa 1872.¹³⁰

Whilst Matsumura is factually correct, it is noticable that the fortunes of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, after a brief revival from

late 1870, had, by May 1873, entered a long period of decline in which unemployment donation rose from £202-10-0d in the first quarter of 1873 to £2,565-15-8d by the commencement of the last quarter of 1878. During the same period the assets of the Society dwindled from over £11,000 to just over £7,400, and apart from a brief revival late 1875 and 1876, were to continue to decline until by May 1880 they stood at just over £4,000, or £2-0-5½d per member.¹³¹

It was during the latter part of this period of financial stringency that the fourth and final phase of emigration within the Flint Glass Makers' Society took place. The revival commenced circa 1880 and roughly coincided with the belated emigration scheme of the Yorkshire G.B.M. Society.¹³²

The promotion of emigration by the Yorkshire Society was characterised by its ambiguity. The scheme originated as a result of a Castleford branch initiative in submitting a proposition for consideration by the Delegate Meeting in September 1879,

"That a vote of the Trade be taken in favour of appropriating a portion of the Society's funds to assist members to emigrate who are willing to do so; and if they should return within a given time (subsequently specified as 5 years by the Executive Council) the money to be re-funded and a proper agreement drawn up to this effect and signed by the parties going out".¹³³

Two other propositions were also submitted by Castleford Branch, one being to sanction approval for a grant to assist two of their members preparing to emigrate to Canada, and the other nominating the sum of £15 each as the amount of the grant.¹³⁴

The main proposition was carried by 234 votes to 39, the total vote representing only 23.4% of the total membership. Most of the branches favoured the proposal, only Stairfoot recording a majority against, although half the branches recorded no dissenting votes.¹³⁵

Favourable majorities were recorded for the secondary propositions with 189 to 18 for the grant in principle and 199 to 36 in favour of the amount.

The subsequent D.M. influenced by the apparent disinterest of the

majority of Society members as indicated by returns which revealed that of the 490 members of the Castleford Branch who were the prime movers of the Scheme, only 72 members had voted on the major proposition, decided to adjourn the matter indefinitely.

The matter was reconsidered at the following D.M. when opinion was divided between those Delegates who wished to dispense with the proposal and those framing a resolution

"That provided 200 members will volunteer to emigrate, that £4,000 be appropriated for an Emigration Fund, to assist them in their passage out. Free members only to receive the grant. The amount of the grant to be fixed by the Trade."¹³⁶

The resolution was rejected by a single vote and adjourned, but the Executive Council subsequently overrode both the D.M. decision and the decision of the Trade to fix the grant at £15. The E.C. adopted a scheme whereby each member wishing to emigrate received £6 subject to Council approval and signed a pledge to refund the grant if returning within 5 years of receipt.¹³⁷ The provision of the £6 grant was initially confined to members in receipt of Trade Benefits,¹³⁸ but enquiries continued to be received from working members regarding emigration to America¹³⁹ and early in 1881 the Executive Council resolved that the grant be extended to any working member "provided that he can get a member who is on benefit into his situation".¹⁴⁰

The adoption of an emigration scheme by the Yorkshire Society was clearly undertaken with a view to reduction of surplus hands, a policy dictated by the conditions of trade, particularly during the preceding 3 years.

In June 1876, with moderate trade conditions prevailing, the Society had only 44 members, representing 2% of its membership, out of work, none of whom was in receipt of trade benefit from the funds of the Society which stood at £16,202-6-1½d at that time.

A period of bad trade between September 1876 and January 1881 was initially accompanied by the prolonged trade dispute resulting in

the Lock-out of Society' members at Thornhill Lees and Consibro until May 1877. Consequently, between late 1877 and late 1880, unemployment had risen to 11.5% reaching a peak in December 1879, when 632 members, representing 55% of total membership were unemployed, receiving £3,774 in trade benefits. Of this amount, £2,545-10-0d was paid to the 576 victims of the trade dispute, the funds of the Society being reduced to £10,542 by this date.¹⁴¹

Delegate opinion on the emigration issue was therefore divided between those who regarded the establishment of a Fund as a drain which would not only denude the Society of its financial resources but also of its best members,¹⁴² and those who saw emigration as a means of reducing surplus labour at a total cost which was only slightly in excess of the £3,400-10-0d paid in unemployment donation for the year 1879, and less than the £4,314-10-0d paid in strike and lock-out benefits.

In the event the emigration policy failed for two principal reasons; the opposition of the American union and the lack of response by members of the Yorkshire Society.

TABLE 8:6 NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS AND AMOUNT EXPENDED BY
YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETY ON EMIGRATION,
1881 - 1886.

YEAR	No. OF EMIGRANTS	AMOUNT GRANTED			AMOUNT REFUNDED		
		£	s	d	£	s	d
1881	12	72	0	0	---		
1882	--		---		10	0	0
1883	--		---		6	0	0
1884	1	6	0	0	2	0	0
1885	--		---		---		
1886	1	6	0	0	---		
TOTALS	14	84	0	0	18	0	0

Source: G.B.M. Reports 1880 - 1886, Quarterly and Annual
Accounts, passim.

The above table shows that of the 12 total emigrant artisans in the year 1881, three had returned by the following year, repaying their

grant by instalments each quarter.¹⁴³ The emigration of the members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society was restricted to 4 at a cost to the Society of £26 in the year 1880.

Conflicting evidence exists concerning conditions in Australia at that time,¹⁴⁴ but suggests on balance that as in America, organised labour was locked in industrial conflict with manufacturers who were clearly attempting to induce artisans from Europe to their shores in an effort to undermine the indigenous unions.¹⁴⁵ The opportunity was afforded to the American manufacturers by the depression of trade which began in the 1870s and had by 1880, resulted in the closure of 19 of the 82 American glassworks.¹⁴⁶ The American employers were assisted in their aim by the influx of foreign artisans from Belgium, France and Germany, the latter nation according to Alfred Greenwood sending out "her skilled artisans in batches of hundreds and thousands at a time."¹⁴⁷ These European artisans less imbued with the principles and organisation of trade unionism¹⁴⁸ quickly monopolised the industry, denying English emigrant glassmakers access to their craft.¹⁴⁹

Spring 1881 marked a slight upsurge in the bottle trade which made domestic conditions more tolerable and when a resolution arising from the D.M. of 30th July

"That communications be made with the Americans
with a view to getting an understanding with
them to recognise the Yorkshire members"

was rebuffed on the grounds that they had a surplus of unemployed themselves,¹⁵⁰ the Yorkshire Society was left to do the best it could with its surplus members and the Emigration Scheme became obsolete through lack of use after 1886.¹⁵¹

The Flint Glass Makers' Society, having briefly considered alternative outlets for emigrant artisans without success¹⁵² abandoned their emigration scheme by the mid 1880s and by the end of the decade condemned government sponsored schemes on the grounds that as unskilled labour was unsuited to emigration, such schemes could only result in a draining away of skilled workmen which would denude England and result in the establishment of rivals in foreign lands for English markets.¹⁵³

In the period 1852 - 1880 the Flint Glass Makers' Society paid a total

of £432-12-8d to 58 members in emigration grants, whilst the Yorkshire Society in the years 1880 - 1886 paid a total of £84.¹⁵⁴ The evidence that both Societies regarded emigration as a mechanism for reduction of surplus hands is clear, being stated frequently by Society officials and substantiated by reference to the economic conditions appertaining at times of its engagement and also by the spasmodic recourse to the emigration machinery. It is also evident that the lack of consistent adherence to the policy can be explained by the fact that over rigorous application would have created a void which manufacturers would have exploited by engaging more apprentices, a measure which was to their economic advantage.¹⁵⁵

Another aspect underlining the lack of consistency by the Flint Glass Makers' Society is the difference in emphasis given to the role of emigration by the frequently changing Executive,¹⁵⁶ whilst the lack of response on the part of the majority of the members may in no little measure, be ascribed to their innate conservatism and their psychological association of emigration with medieval exile and modern transportation.¹⁵⁷

Nor can the inconsistency regarding emigration be ascribed to the attitude and influence of the Junta. True, both Societies were centralised craft-based models of 'new unionism' commonly associated with the Junta. In the case of the nationally organised Flint Glass Makers there was a strong connection with the Junta leaders, notably through the offices of the London District Secretary, Joseph Leicester, whilst the regionally based Bottle Makers' Society were nominally under the influence of George Potter.

In neither case, however, was the respective connections exclusive as can be seen by the fact that when George Potter led a delegation to meet Gladstone in 1868 from which Junta leaders dissociated themselves, both glass unions were represented, whilst Alfred Greenwood frequently sought to organise his Society in accordance with that of the A.E.S. and corresponded with leaders of Junta-led unions.¹⁵⁸

Furthermore, as Clements has shown, the Junta's advocacy of emigration was minimal, being largely confined to the period 1869 - 1870.¹⁵⁹
Confirmation
Substantiation of the Junta leaders dismissive attitude may be found in the example of George Howell, who, whilst publishing in great

TABLE 8:7

TABLE 8:7 COMPARISON OF TOTAL AND PER CAPITA AMOUNTS SPENT
ANNUALLY ON EMIGRATION BY THE F.G.M. AND THE
IRONFOUNDERS' SOCIETIES, 1852 - 1874

YEAR	F.G.M.	£'s AVERAGE ANNUAL PER MEMBER	IRONFOUNDERS	£'s AVERAGE ANNUAL PER MEMBER
1852	25-10-0	4-5½	---	1-0-9
1853	36-5-0	1-2-0	---	2-5-5
1854	74-10-0	1-17-0½		2-17-7
1855	52-6-8	2-9-0½	52-18-10	2-4-10½
1856	102-0-0	1-15-8	32-14-0	2-0-9
1857	8-10-0	2-12-1½	283-7-0	1-15-3
1858	---	2-12-2½	---	4-10½
1859	---	1-16-8½	---	1-0-7½
1860	17-0-0	2-15-2½	---	2-1-5
1861	---	2-9-3½	---	2-2-0½
(a)1862	8-10-0	2-11-3	---	19-0½
1863	4-3-0	2-14-11½	---	17-10½
1864	9-0-0	3-8-5½	414-3-3	1-11-2½
1865	---	4-8-5½	548-12-9	2-10-6½
1866	4-5-0	5-5-4½	533-1-2	2-10-2½
1867	---	5-6-5½	1278-19-6	9-6½
1868	---	5-8-5½	192-5-2½	4-3½
1869	26-6-0	5-4-7½	15-2-7½	1-5½
1870	31-5-0	5-0-11	12-6-0	13-9½
1871	---	5-2-9½	---	16-10½
1872	---	5-11-7	---	3-11-2½
1873	---	6-3-10	1224-16-1½	4-4-11½
1874	---	5-13-2	233-16-7	4-4-10

Source:

- (i) F.G.M.M. Statements re Society assets for last quarter of each year and number of members ditto 1852 - 1874.
- (ii) Erickson, op cit, Table 1, p 269.
- (a) estimated assets based on average of preceding and succeeding quarterly returns.

detail the sums expended in a wide range of benefits by more than a dozen Junta-led trade Societies, gives only scant acknowledgement to that concerning emigration.¹⁶⁰

Even within the context of Junta Societies which provided emigration grants, the contribution made by the Flint Glass Makers is small. The Ironfounders spent £4,711 between 1854 - 1874, including a sum in the region of £300 in a 6 month period in 1867, in emigrating 307 members,¹⁶¹ whilst the Flint Glass Makers' Society during the same period spent £399-12-8d on 48 emigrants.¹⁶²

Table 8:7 compares the position of the F.G.M. Society in relation to that of the Ironfounders' Society. The table shows that the per capita funds of the Flint Glass Makers were in excess of those of the Ironfounders' Society each year from 1857 and yet the amount expended on emigration by each Society is in inverse position to their per capita situation. Thus, the Flint Glass Makers between 1852 - 1857 when their assets were inferior to the Ironfounders, spent £290-11-0d. From 1857, when for 17 years the per capita assets of the Flint Glass Makers ^{were} ~~was~~ superior to those of the Ironfounders, the Flint Glass Makers spent only £108-1-0d, whilst the amount spent on emigration by the latter Society increased. This is significant in that Erickson, noting that the Ironfounders' highest annual amounts occurred in 1867 and 1873 has concluded that a push towards emigration was made immediately after a period of financial prosperity for the Society, thereby acting in accordance with a long-term objective based on the economic dogmas of the period.¹⁶³ Erickson implies that any relaxation by union leaders in the fulfillment of their aim was due to the economic setbacks each Society experienced and cites the Engineers and Carpenters' Societies as examples in which emigration grants were dependent upon the financial wellbeing of the particular Society measured by its per capita position. Further, Erickson underlines her belief in pursuit of emigration in accordance with prevalent economic doctrine by giving examples in which Societies subsidised their emigration funds by levies on their members.¹⁶⁴

The statistics which concern the Flint Glass Makers' Society do not appear to substantiate Erickson's claim since phases of emigration were not undertaken in accordance with preliminary booms in Society

TABLE 8:8 COMPARATIVE COST OF EMIGRATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT PAID BY THE F.G.M. SOCIETY DURING ACTIVE PERIODS OF MEMBERSHIP EMIGRATION 1852 - 1880.

PERIODS (INCLUSIVE)	AVERAGE No. OF MEMBERS	No. OF EMI- GRANTS	TOTAL EMI- GRATION GRANTS	TOTAL UNEM- PLOYMENT DONATION	AVERAGE PER MEMBER	No. OF QUAR- TERS	AVERAGE PER QUARTER
			£ s d	£ s d	£ s d		£ s d
AUG 1852 - MAY 1857	786	38	298 11 8	6022 14 10	7 13 2½	20	301 2 2½
FEB 1860 - AUG 1866	1464	7	43 10 0	10034 18 11	6 17 1	27	1433 11 3
NOV 1869 - AUG 1870	1746	8	57 11 0	2516 16 11½	1 8 9½	4	314 12 1
AUG 1877 - FEB 1880	2047	5	32 10 0	19378 6 0	9 9 4	11	1761 13 3¼
TOTALS	—	58	432 2 8	37950 6 8½	—	—	—

Source: F.G.M.M. 1852 - 1880 passim.

finances, nor was recourse ever made to a levy of members in order to subsidise emigration.

If the financial standing of the Society was the factor governing the pursuance of emigration, the determinants are most probably to be found in the disbursement of unemployment donation, including Trade Privileges (i.e. strike and lock-out pay) as revealed in Table 8:8.

The figures for each interim period are shown in Table 8:9 infra, but as no statistics regarding the Society's finances before May 1852 exist, it is not possible to provide more than a brief indication of the financial situation before August 1852. Existent figures do show, however, that in the quarter for May 1852 the 700 plus members provided an income of £117-4-0d, whilst expenditure of £226-10-0d was recorded. The Society had an inbalance of £66-10-4½d the following quarter when out of an expenditure of £474-4-10d, the sum of £398-4-9d was spent on unemployed members. The indications, therefore, suggest that unemployment was the single most important factor behind the emigration push recorded from that quarter.

TABLE 8:9 COMPARATIVE COST OF UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFIT PAID BY THE F.G.M. SOCIETY AT INTERIM PHASES BETWEEN ACTIVE PERIODS OF MEMBERSHIP EMIGRATION 1857 - 1877

PERIODS (INCLUSIVE)	AVERAGE No. OF MEMBERS	TOTAL UNEM- PLOYMENT DONATION £ s d	AVERAGE PER MEMBER £ s d	No. OF QUARTERS	AVERAGE PER QUARTER £ s d
AUG 1857 - NOV 1859	1269	7521 8 9½	5 18 6½	10	752 8 9½
NOV 1866 - AUG 1869	1689	6446 11 7	3 16 4	13	495 17 9½
NOV 1870 - MAY 1877	1914	12480 17 11	6 10 5	19	656 17 9
TOTALS	—	26448 18 3½	—	—	—

Source: F.G.M.M. 1857 - 1877 passim.

The two tables show that during the 42 quarters which comprise the total time between periods of active emigration the sum of £26,448-18-3½d, averaging £629-14-8½d per quarter, was spent by the Flint Glass Makers'

Society on unemployment benefit. During the longer total period of time spent on pursuance of emigration, amounting to 62 quarters, only £37,950-6-8½d, an average of £612-2-1½d per quarter, was spent in relief of the unemployed. This tends to suggest that the adoption of emigration was a feature of the Society at times when the burden of paying unemployment donation was becoming impracticable. It is interesting to note, however, that during the strike and Lock-out of 1858 - 1859 when the unemployment donation reached its highest ever total of £2,669-17-11d, the emigration policy was left dormant since the exodus of artisans would have been contrary to the interest of the Society who were engaged in a struggle arising from the ratio of apprentices to journeymen within the trade. The fact that attempts were made to emigrate members at a later date (1878) when the unemployment donation was at £2,565-15-8d, almost as high as that of 1858 - 1859, seems to underline the fact that the Executive attitude was governed by consideration of the current situation rather than adherence to economic dogmatism. At the time of the fourth and final period of emigration, the Society's attitude was governed by consideration arising from foreign competition. Clements has attempted to nullify Erickson's statement that such considerations were an important factor concerning the issue of emigration,¹⁶⁵ but in the case of the Flint Glass Makers the Executive was well aware of the effects of foreign wares on their domestic market and yet considered it expedient to push emigration to alleviate the burden of high unemployment and did so in the safe knowledge that the conditions at home would not create a vacuum which the employers would be able to exploit.

It is significant to note that compared even with the limited response of the Flint Glass Makers for assisted migration the part played by artisans engaged in the Yorkshire based bottle branch of the trade is minimal. The lack of response by such members is also a microcosmic example of the difference regarding emigration between the Society and the G.B.M. Society.

Since 1850 the Glass Bottle artisans had experienced increasing erosion of customary trade practices by their employers, the more progressive of whom had sought to introduce new aspects of technical production calling for rationalisation of the workforce. The impact of new technology was minimised however by its very nature and the lack of unity amongst manufacturers. In addition, the rapid expansion

of the industry between 1850 - 1880 facilitated union growth and provided the means for the absorption of unemployed artisans. The retention of tramping benefit until 1884¹⁶⁶ and the reciprocal arrangements with the Lancashire G.B.M. Society until 1874 regarding mutual relief of members obviated the need for recourse to emigration.

The system of promotion within the ranks of the Flint Glass Makers was another factor differentiating attitudes to emigration. Matsumura has detailed the rigid system of advancement within the ranks of the Flint Glass Makers' Society whereby the bulk of Flint Glass artisans might serve in the humblest capacity of footmaker for long (sometimes entire) periods of working life. As the techniques concerning bottle production were simpler and therefore more easily mastered, this, aided by trade expansion, created opportunity for more rapid transference within the craft structure of the bottle trade. Thus, the stratification within the bottle trade was more proportionate than that of the flint glass (domestic ware) trade where the bulk of the members were confined to the less skilled, lowest paid work and were the most numerous element of unemployed members.

Such members might well feel the pull of emigration as a means of betterment and it may be that in the introduction of the grant facility, the Executive, either consciously or sub-consciously, considered the fact and made provision to alleviate the possibility of such lower grade artisans being tempted to undermine the aims and principles of the Society by 'blacklegging' in an effort to procure craft advancement.

Additionally, the Flint Glass trade, being a more luxury trade, was more prone to feel the effects of foreign competition earlier than the more utility and expanding bottle trade. By the 1880s, however, the bottle trade expansion had eased and the trade had begun to feel the effect of foreign competition which their flint glass counterparts had felt over a decade. Furthermore, due to the efforts of William Bagley, the establishment of a united Employers Association had stiffened opposition to the Union, while major technical innovations such as the regenerative furnace, and the semi-automatic bottle making machine threatened to transform the industry and present the Society with a life and death struggle to maintain artisan craft status. The outlet for surplus labour previously provided by factory

expansion had decreased, causing the abandonment of the tramping system and increasing the unemployment rate of the Society from 4% of the membership in 1876, costing the Society an annual sum of £66-12-0d, to 39.7% in 1880, costing £5,214-3-0d for the year's unemployment and Trade Privilege donations.¹⁶⁷

The changed circumstances within the Yorkshire bottle trade by 1880 made the Executive of the G.B.M. Society more receptive to the suggestion that Society sponsored emigration be adopted. It is worth noting, however, that the adoption of the policy was in response to a desire expressed by an element within the rank and file. The situation is in complete contrast with the 'imposed' policy arising from the initiative of the Flint Glass Makers' Executive. The different origin and time-scale suggest a belief in the efficacy of emigration by the leaders of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, borne out by the sums expended and the supporting propaganda, and the lack of conviction on the part of the G.B.M. Executive.

The wreck of both emigration schemes on the rock of hostile, foreign unionism was a common and crucial factor,¹⁶⁸ but for the Flint Glass Makers' Society it marked the end of a long established faith while for the Yorkshire Society it merely represented a disappointing end to a briefly held and forlorn hope.¹⁶⁹

Embarkation on an emigration scheme by the Yorkshire Society indicates a tactic dictated by Society requirements, since action in accordance with economic ideology would hardly have been undertaken so belatedly and at such an inauspicious time. This supposition is confirmed when one views the contribution of both Societies in the context of trade union sponsored emigration.¹⁷⁰ Viewed in the overall pattern of general emigration the role of the glassmakers unions is minuscule.¹⁷¹ It is therefore obvious that neither Society was ardently enthusiastic about emigration.

The nature of the glassmaker's contribution is significant, however, when considered as a mechanism for the regulation of artisan unemployment. The involvement of both unions is an important manifestation of the determination of the glassmakers to maintain the basis of their socio-economic status.

(d) The Labour Movement.

The purpose of this section is to examine the direct and indirect influences of the wider labour movement upon the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society. Points of comparison in attitude and conduct between the Bottle Makers and the Flint Glass Makers' Societies will be examined in order to ascertain the degree to which the former may be seen to fit the concept of 'New Model' Unionism as presented by the Webbs in their 'History of Trade Unionism'.¹⁷² In their work the Webbs extolled the value of centralised society government, welfare benefit provision and industrial pacifism which they identified among the larger artisan trade societies post 1850. The Webbs argued that the 'New Spirit' adopted by such unions as the A.S.E. and A.S.C.J. represented a sudden break with existent forms of trade union government and outlook exemplified by a myriad small, regionally based Societies which adhered to the traditional forms of organisation underlined by trade militancy and local autonomy, which the Webbs disparaged. For that reason the Webbs regarded the five man 'Junta',¹⁷³ consisting of officials of the leading 'New Model' Societies, as constituting the effective leadership of the labour movement during the third quarter of the nineteenth century and minimised the role of George Potter, an opponent of the Junta, who was an advocate of militant trade unionism and who exercised considerable influence upon the smaller provincial artisan Societies. Potter's influence was reinforced by the dissemination of trade affairs through the medium of the Bee Hive newspaper, which he had founded in mid October 1861.¹⁷⁴ As the official organ of the London Trades Council and the First International, the Beehive was in the vanguard of the labour movement throughout the period of political and industrial struggle for almost two decades and even when as a result of the intensification of the conflict between Potter and the Junta from 1865, the connection between the Junta dominated Trades Council and International and the paper was severed, the Bee Hive remained influential as the organ of the Labour Representation League, London Working Mens' Association and Trades Union Congress and its Parliamentary Committee.¹⁷⁵ Despite a wide circulation,¹⁷⁶ the Bee Hive was plagued by under capitalisation from the start and in an effort to raise additional capital, the management of the Bee Hive Company offered 100 share blocks to the various trade societies at a subscription of £25. The Flint Glass Makers' Society purchased 100 shares in 1863, while its London

District invested £25 in an additional holding¹⁷⁷ and the following year (1864) the London District Secretary, Joseph Leicester, was nominated as the Society's representative on the Board of the Bee Hive Newspaper Company.¹⁷⁸ The formal connection between the Glass Bottle Makers and George Potter arose as a result of the purchase of Bee Hive shares at the suggestion of the Swinton Branch, in March 1866.¹⁷⁹ The Society's association with Potter therefore commenced at a time of crisis within the labour movement as a series of labour disputes emphasised the latent conflict between Potter and the Junta. The Society link was also established at a time when 'New Model' principles were being utilised as the basis of administration of Society affairs, a development which quite apart from arousing a degree of rank and file hostility (cf chapter 7 (c) supra), required considerable organisational attention and therefore detracted from the time which might otherwise have been devoted to external developments concerning the trade. As a result, the Society was placed firmly within the Potter camp, and despite its adoption of the 'New Model' system of government, contact with Junta leaders and the Societies they represented, was of an incidental nature for a decade, occurring largely as a result of general developments within the labour movement, with which Potter was also associated. The Glass Bottle Makers' leadership, whilst showing an awareness of the necessity for legislative reform, appear to have taken little direct action to promote such, beyond drawing the attention of the membership to the desire for change and the presentation of miscellaneous items of a general nature within the pages of the Quarterly Reports. Early editions of the Report contain reprints of the 'Master and Servant Act',¹⁸⁰ and the proposed Trade Union Bill,¹⁸¹ but beyond the fact that the inclusion of such material was considered to be

"..... necessary, for the better information of my fellow workmen with a view to promote your best interests - socially and politically"

so that

"You will thus be able to form a better opinion of the great need there is for some alteration being made"¹⁸²

there is little other comment. The Glass Bottle Makers relied on the direct efforts of other organisations to represent and safeguard their interests, a position standing in sharp contrast with

that of their flint glass contemporaries who took an active and important part in the agitation for the reform of the Master and Servant Act, a role widely reported and commented upon in both press and Magazine.¹⁸³ The grant of £20 by the Glass Bottle Makers to the 'Master and Workman's Act Committee, Glasgow',¹⁸⁴ an organisation in which the flint glass makers were actively prominent, illustrates the link between the two Societies and the nature of their respective positions at the time. Likewise, the contact with the Junta-led Societies can be ascribed to the linkage of the Glass Bottle Makers and the Flint Glass Makers' Society through the latter's influential London based secretary, Joseph Leicester and their mutual contact with George Potter.¹⁸⁵ Consequently, a Conference of Amalgamated Trades convened under the aegis of the Junta resulted in formal contact between the Society and the Junta through the receipt of a circular and correspondence from the A.S.C.J. inviting the co-operation and support of the Glass Bottle Makers and offering information regarding the work of the Royal Commission on Trade Unions.¹⁸⁶ Again, the response of the Society was limited to a levy of 1d per member which raised 14 shillings to help defray the expense of the "Committee appointed by the London Conference to watch the proceedings of the Royal Commission,¹⁸⁷ and the expressed hope of the Executive Officer that the members would individually

"..... endeavour as far as in them lies, to render all the assistance which they possibly can to those who are now sacrificing domestic comforts so as to obtain for us along with themselves, those rights and privileges we are at present deprived of"¹⁸⁸

The relative importance of each Society of glassmakers is indicated by the attitude of the Royal Commissioners themselves who called upon the Central Secretary of the Flint Glass Makers' Society, T. J. Wilkinson, and his Society colleague, Joseph Leicester, to present direct evidence to the Commission whilst confining their contact with the Glass Bottle Makers to the issuing of a general questionnaire and the incidental representation of evidence from George Potter.¹⁸⁹ The insubstantial role of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society in matters concerning political and trade union legislation may, in part, be ascribed to the constraints imposed by the ongoing process of structural reorganisation, limited

membership and the geographical confines imposed by the nature of their trade, which denied the Society the strategic organisational contacts of the Flint Glass Makers in areas such as London, Birmingham, Manchester and Glasgow, crucial centres of labour activity. Similarly, almost two decades of practical experience arising from involvement in such activity was advantageous to the Flint Glass Makers. There are, however, other psychological and material considerations underlying the outlook of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society during the period 1865 - 1880. The psychological dimension arose from a feeling of self-dependence born of artisan pride and is evident in the words of C.S. William Bagley who, noting the imminence of the final Report of the Royal Commission, nevertheless concluded

"Now if we may judge of the future by the past, we may rest assured that the benefits which workmen will receive at the hands of Parliament will be very small unless they point out to certain Members of Parliament the changes which they require and then bring their whole influence to bear on Parliament itself. This has always had to be done, more or less before the people have obtained any real benefit from Parliament; and I feel satisfied that it will be so in time to come. Therefore, let us not place too much reliance on Parliament; but rather endeavour to improve ourselves, socially and intellectually; we shall then be better able to obtain our just rights even if Parliament is unwilling to acknowledge and grant them."¹⁹⁰

For the Glass Bottle Making artisans, self-dependence was the key to status acquisition by which the Society and its members presented an image of sober responsibility to an indifferent and critical public

"Permit me to say, that it would be well if those who are opposed to Trades' Unions would take and examine this Report; they would then see how the members who are in employment have come forward and generously

paid three shillings per week, in order to keep those members who are out of employment from utter starvation. And I may add, that what the members in our Society are now doing is but a specimen of what the members of Trades' Unions generally will do under similar circumstances."¹⁹¹

Clearly, Bagley, and by implication his Executive, whilst mindful of the necessity for legislative enactments regarded self-help and status acquisition as a primary element of union policy and an essential precondition for public and legal acceptance of trade union rights. The psychological attitude which permeated the membership of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society is instrumental in understanding aspects of provincialism and trade insularity. Bagley's prognostication regarding the lack of 'real benefit' from Parliament unless working men formulated their aims and used their influence to secure their objectives may also indicate his belief that such influence was best obtained via the direct exercise of the recently acquired artisan franchise than by the less direct method of persuasive lobbying. However, awareness of apathy arising from lack of educational attainment and innate conservatism within the membership of the Society may have underlined the necessity for a degree of support and even participation in some labour movements.¹⁹² Acknowledgement of the fact may explain the initial participation of the Society in the first Trades Union Congress, convened at Manchester, 5th - 8th June 1868.

The Congress launched as a result of Potter's initiative and ignored by the Junta-led Societies, was attended by representatives of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society and the Flint Glass Makers, thus confirming the allegiance of both Societies to Potter, rather than the Junta. The Glass Bottle Makers' representatives were John Wild and Samuel Blackburn, while the Flint Glass Makers' representative was T. J. Wilkinson.¹⁹³ The insular attitude to trade affairs exhibited in the contributions to debate by the Glass Bottle Makers' Delegates emphasised the constraint imposed by provinciality on appreciation of the significance of trade affairs in the context of the wider labour movement. In the opening debate, Wild and Blackburn made a forceful defence of trade unionism as an agent for maintenance of wage levels and apprenticeship control, while in a subsequent debate,

Blackburn seemingly demurred from the majority of the Delegates who advocated shorter hours of labour as a necessity for the intellectual and physical benefit of operatives, by asserting that drink was far more injurious than physical toil and "as great an enemy to them as the worst employer who ever lived".¹⁹⁴ Wilkinson, however, viewed curtailment of working hours as essential for the reduction of surplus labour, and by implication artisan unemployment, clearly showing a wider grasp of the issue than Blackburn.¹⁹⁵ The divergent attitude of the two Delegates must also be considered against the background of trade conditions effecting their respective industries. For the Yorkshire artisans, reduction of hours represented lower earnings and a consequent increase in work pace. For the flint hands, the greater emphasis on individual craftsmanship with its attendant mental strain, together with the greater diversity of manufactured wares, made some modification of the hours of labour more welcome. In addition, the flint glass trade was already beginning to be aware of the potential menace of foreign competition as Wilkinson's Congress Speech on the subject indicated.¹⁹⁶ The opinions expressed at Congress significantly revealed the parochialism of the Glass Bottle Makers' Delegates, being concerned solely with aspects directly relevant to their trade, whereas the speeches of Wilkinson and Potter show an awareness of political and social factors within the context of national and international developments. The fact was underlined by William Dronfield, Secretary of the Sheffield based Alliance of Organised Trades, who following Wild's expressed reservations concerning the value of technical education stated that

"Trade Societies should show that they had other objects in view besides the regulation of the rate of wages, the number of apprentices and so forth, which although important were not the only things to consider."¹⁹⁷

The sentiment was echoed by George Potter in the context of national value.¹⁹⁸ The Society was unrepresented at the Birmingham Congress of 1869, in contrast to the Flint Glass Makers' Society which sent Wilkinson and Leicester as Delegates, the former being elected Congress President and also a member of the Parliamentary Committee appointed by the Congress to watch and promote labour legislation.¹⁹⁹ The central issue on the Congress Agenda was co-operation. A circular

on the subject issued in the name of Applegarth and other prominent Junta officials was furnished in advance for consideration by the Council of the Glass Bottle Makers' Society, who, mindful of the failure of the Society's own co-operative works a decade earlier, unanimously resolved that

".... our Society is not prepared at present to take an active part in the co-operative movement: yet, considering that we as a Society may derive in the future much benefit from the Congress, we will make a grant of £1 towards defraying the expenses of Congress."²⁰⁰

Indicative of the ambivalent attitude of the Executive, the Council also acknowledged the indifference of the rank and file in its statement

"That this meeting does not consider it advisable to send a Delegate to the Birmingham Congress in consequence of the lack of interest manifested on the part of the members generally."²⁰¹

Active participation in the affairs of the Alliance of Organised Trades, at a time when that body was seeking to widen its activity beyond its original remit as an organisation for mutual support of locked out members, may have appeared more directly relevant to the Glass Bottle Makers.²⁰² If such was the case, it is yet a further indication of the provincialism of the Society and a policy based on poor judgement since the attempt by the Alliance to cut expenditure while at the same time extending its activities, was clearly impractical and an obvious effort to stem the already significant decline in membership arising as a reaction to the Sheffield Outrages and the advent of the T.U.C. George Potter's relationship with the Society took a personal turn at this time (1869) when in an effort to increase the circulation of the Bee Hive he addressed a personal letter to the Council.²⁰³ As a result the Council passed a resolution

"That this meeting would strongly urge all members who do not purchase a daily or weekly newspaper to subscribe for a copy of the Beehive Newspaper."²⁰⁴

Following correspondence with Potter, the Society arranged for him to visit Castleford to give an Address on "The present position of

labour and the necessity of working men to support their own paper."²⁰⁵ Potter was willing to make the journey at his own expense as part of his campaign to boost the circulation of the Bee Hive, but it is an indication of the fervour for Potter's views that the Council resolved to form a sub-committee to publicise the event and raise money by voluntary subscription to cover expenses and pay a fee of £2 to Potter for his services.²⁰⁶ The Society's link with Potter was further reinforced when he was requested to represent them at the important London Trade Union Congress in 1871. Potter, together with Wilkinson and Leicester, the Flint Glass Makers' Delegates, were elected to the Committee established to monitor the Trade Union Bill on its passage through the Commons.²⁰⁷ Thereafter, Potter represented the Society at every subsequent Congress until 1877.²⁰⁸ It is significant, however, that Potter's influence notwithstanding his representation of the Society, arose because of reluctance on the part of some of the leading Councilmen to undertake the role of Congress Delegate. In 1872 the Council's nominee, Martin Waters, declined the position as did his fellow Councilmen Blackburn and Liversidge.²⁰⁹ The following year, when the Congress was held at nearby Leeds, all three, together with Central Secretary Greenwood, again declined appointment.²¹⁰ What reason may be advanced to explain the reluctance of the Council's nominees? Hardly lack of personal interest, for all were advocates of 'New Model' unionism and therefore sufficiently progressive in outlook to appreciate the importance of Congress whose activities now embraced both Potter and Junta-led elements. Waters, together with William Lindsay had been appointed by the Council to watch Parliamentary proceedings on trade union legislation as a result of which a Joint Report had been presented and approved by the Executive Council of the Society.²¹¹ Greenwood, likewise had shown an interest in the subject and keen awareness of the political implications of the proposed labour legislation,²¹² whilst the wealth of material published in the pages of various Reports, together with the additional copies of the Bee Hive for distribution among the Members, testifies the desire of the Council to engender a similar awareness among the rank and file.²¹³ Nor can lack of experience explain the obvious reluctance, for all were experienced Councilmen who had previously represented the Society in a similar capacity to that of T.U.C. Delegate. The economic dimension is negligible in this context too, for wages equal to those earned by a surrogate artisan were payable to Delegates in addition to expenses and travel allowance.²¹⁴ In this respect, however,

may lie some indication of the motives which prompted the proposed Delegates to decline the honour of representing the Society. The unwillingness to accept the odium arising from the hostility of an unappreciative element representative of the primitive democratic school within the Society would seem the most probable explanation of the Councilmen's attitude. Opposition to the Council was based on economic considerations, therefore representation at a national trade congress was regarded as an unnecessary expense by the advocates of narrow traditionalism who viewed with far more approval representation by an external agent, one whose reputation as an 'old school' unionist was known and appreciated and who would serve the interests of the Society at a cost of £1, equally as well as a fellow artisan at six times that amount.²¹⁵ From 1872 Potter's influence was, however, on the wane. In May of that year reports of the insolvency of the Bee Hive led the Council to instruct Greenwood to write to Potter and clarify the position, particularly regarding the Society's financial liability arising from its shareholding.²¹⁶ The Council's fears were allayed by Potter's reassuring and somewhat optimistic reply in spite of obvious difficulties.²¹⁷ By the spring of 1876, however, further correspondence between Greenwood and Potter established the fact that the shares were valueless and had been so since 1869.²¹⁸

The limited extent of the loss incurred by the Society was insignificant to the potential loss to the labour movement, a fact which Greenwood clearly appreciated,

"The Paper has been struggling for life during the whole fifteen years of its existence. This proves beyond a shadow of a doubt the indifference on the part of working men in general, but especially on the part of the Trades Unionists in regard to supporting the best Working Man's Paper which we have seen and read. Parliamentary and local news can be had in the Daily Papers, but information published in the Bee Hive is not to be had in any other paper and for that reason the promoters and managers ought to be assisted."²¹⁹

Mindful of his own members' indifference, Greenwood concluded -

"We ask you again, perhaps for the last time, to support it."

With the demise of the Bee Hive, Potter's power base was eliminated. Despite the Society's adherence to Potter throughout the previous decade, it is perhaps significant that in 1872 when Potter's influence within the Society was at its zenith, it was from the Junta-led Societies that Greenwood had sought advice regarding the investment of Society funds,²²⁰ and it was always against such Societies that he measured the performance of his own Society. From 1879, Greenwood represented the Society at the T.U.C. which brought direct and increasing contact with the wider labour movement and inevitably increased the influence of the Junta which the decline of Potter and the growing assertion of Council supremacy assisted. Nevertheless, like their flint glass counterparts, the Glass Bottle Makers were whatever the aspirations of their leaders, loyal to Potter and not the Junta.

The nature of the relationship between the glassmakers' societies and the wider labour movement is well illustrated by degree of practical assistance rendered to other societies. Prior to the establishment of central system of financial administration the districts of both societies exercised a discretionary right to grant relief from local funds. Following the financial reform of William Gillinder in 1852, grants to other trades proposed by individual districts or the Central Committee of the Flint Glass Makers, were subjected to the trade vote. In 1858, a proposal by the Central Committee that two sums of £10 be granted to the Glass Bottle Makers of Lancashire, following an appeal by that Society, was rejected by the flint hands,²²¹ and it was left to individual branches of the trade to support the bottle hands' appeal by means of voluntary subscriptions.²²² Evidently, the Flint Glass Makers, either from the exclusivity arising from pride in the status conferred by the superior nature of their craftsmanship, or from limited appreciation of the general labour situation, felt unable to identify with fellow unionists. The Lock-Out of 1858-1859 proved to be a catalyst, transforming the attitude of the membership as a result of the assistance received from various trade unions during the protracted dispute.²²³ Subsequently, on the initiative of the Central Committee, a Benevolent Fund was formally established to provide aid for other trades suffering oppression. The establishment of a Central Account in 1867 saw a similar widening of aid granted by the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers' Society. Between 1865 and 1867, grants were donated by individual districts from their

own funds. The grants were of limited size and were confined to bodies within or adjacent to the donating district, typical examples being the £3 donated by Castleford Branch to the Dewsbury Spinners in June 1865 and the grant of £5 to the South Yorkshire Iron Workers by Swinton Branch in the same month.²²⁴ Larger donations occurred at the behest of the Delegate Meeting and arose in response to Society contacts with other trades through membership of the Alliance of Organised Trades. Thus, in August 1866, the Delegate Meeting granted the sum of £100 to the Sheffield Tile Cutters, and an additional grant of £5 per week for the duration of the dispute.²²⁵

TABLE 8:10 AMOUNTS DONATED BY MEMBERS OF THE F.G.M. AND YORKSHIRE G.B.M. SOCIETIES IN RESPONSE TO APPEALS FOR ASSISTANCE BY OTHER TRADES, 1859 - 1879

YEAR	F.G.Ms.			G.B.Ms.		
	£	s	d	£	s	d
1859	8	0	0			
1860	66	3	0			
1861	85	10	0			
1862	14	0	0			
1863	32	0	0			
1864	85	0	0			
1865	78	0	0	14	0	0
1866	109	0	0	130	0	0
1867	80	0	0	93	0	0
1868	31	0	0			
1869	23	0	0	140	0	0
1870	37	0	0	27	0	0
1871	9	0	0			
1872	62	0	0	120	0	0
1873	6	0	0	10	0	0
1874	15	0	0	20	0	0
1875	57	0	0	50	0	0
1876	55	0	0			
1877	57	2	0			
1878	53	0	0			
1879	13	0	0	550	0	0
TOTALS	1005	15	0	1154	0	0

Sources: (i) F.G.M.M. 1859 - 1879, passim.
(ii) G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 3 - 8.

Lack of a Central Fund meant that each district remitted to Castleford Branch sums in proportion to the number of members and that Branch then made the necessary donation on behalf of the trade. Such a system was cumbersome and time-consuming. Between October 1866 and September 1867, the Executive Council used the Castleford Account to pay donations of £25 to the North of England Iron Workers; £30 to the South Yorkshire Miners and two sums of £30 to the London Tailors.²²⁶ The size and frequency of such donations, together with geographical area of dispensation are indicative of a widening of inter-union contacts about that time, a fact further revealed by the increase in Council expenditure in respect of trade conferences, committees and reports during the same period. By 1868 a Central account had been established in response to the growing volume of Council expenditure and from that time all grants made to other trades and organisations were decreed by the Council, and paid through Central Office. Table 8:10 supra, shows the amounts paid by each of the glassmakers' societies during the period 1859 to 1879. The table shows that during the twenty years following establishment of its Benevolent Fund the Flint Glass Makers' Society donated £1005-15-0d to other trades, an average of £48 per year. A similar amount, £1134, was donated by the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers, but the payments of this Society commenced six years later. Taken over the fifteen year period, 1865 - 1879, the average annual amount donated by the Flint Glass Makers equalled £67, whilst that of the Bottle Makers was almost £76. Donations by the Flint Glass Makers, although showing some variation in size, are far more stable in size and frequency than those of the Glass Bottle Makers. The Glass Bottle Makers' figures indicate wide fluctuation, with the payments more clearly representing the conditions of trade. Thus, in the years 1868, 1871 and 1876 - 1878, when the Society experienced adverse conditions, no grants were made to other Societies, while the smallness of the sums donated between 1873 - 1876 reflects the general trade prosperity of those years. The size of the grants made by the Glass Bottle Makers is, however, generally in excess of those of the Flint Glass Makers whose highest annual amount of £109 in 1872 was exceeded by the annual amount of the Bottle Makers. The sum of £550 donated by the Yorkshire Society in 1879 was granted in response to the Lock-Out Appeal by the Glass Bottle Hands of Scotland. The Appeal was received by the Yorkshire Society in November 1878, at a time when crisis prevailed within the Yorkshire trade (cf Chapter 4 supra). Despite an annual decrease in Society

funds in excess of £2,000, and more than a quarter of members being unemployed, the Society made an immediate grant of £50 to the Scottish hands.²²⁷ A subsequent Delegate Meeting rejected a proposal for a further grant of £100 on grounds of ^{insufficiency} insubstantiality and proposed the sum of £200 instead. This sum, together with an equal amount to be paid the following quarter, was raised by a levy of the membership.²²⁸ In a year when the net expenditure of the Yorkshire Society was almost £6,000 in excess of net income, the gesture, undertaken at a time of unparalleled trade depression, indicates a high degree of fraternism within the Society and reveals an underlying confidence based on craft status and artisan pride. Given the smaller membership and, pre 1873, the inferior funds of the Glass Bottle Makers, the annual average per capita amount of £1-5-7d, directly donated to other trade societies, was more than three times the amount donated by the Flint Glass Makers, who spent 7s-8½d per head in the period 1865 - 1879. The total average amount per member spent by the Glass Bottle Makers in grants to all other trades associations and institutions during the same period was £2-18-9¾d.²²⁹ Such sums show a high commitment to the principles of trade unionism but some examination of the nature of the sums granted is necessary in order to discover attitudes of insularity or exclusivity. Society grants to other trades fall into three general categories, comprising grants to local unions, societies based further afield and other bottle makers' societies. Grants to local societies are confined to pre 1870 and, being largely donated from district funds, were never in excess of £30, with the exception of £105 granted to the Sheffield Tile Cutters by the Delegate Meeting in 1866. Grants to local societies were £329, being 28.5% of the total amount, while those to more distant societies account for £125 or 10.8% of the entire amount donated by the Society. It was to other bottle makers that the largest sums were donated, however. Apart from the £550 given to the Scottish Bottle Makers' Society in 1879, the sum of £120 was donated to the Glasgow and Portobello Bottle Makers in 1872, being the entire amount granted by the Society in that year, while in 1875, the Dublin Bottle Hands received £30. In all, the donations to fellow tradesmen by the Yorkshire artisans amounted to £700, or 60.6% of the entire amount donated to trade unions between 1865 - 1879. A more cosmopolitan outlook is discernable from 1866 and during the following decade donations varying from a few pounds to £30 were made to half a dozen trades in various areas of the Kingdom. Matsumura has shown the support given by the flint

hands for small societies championed by George Potter,²³⁰ and the same influence is evident in the grants made by the Yorkshire G.B.M. Society from the late 1860s to such groups as the Preston Operatives, London Tailors, London Gas Stokers and the Haddenham Agricultural Labourers.²³¹ Potter was not only influential in widening the range of the Society's labour contracts but also in widening the extent of practical assistance to embrace unskilled labour unions, for with the exception of one particular group, the Yorkshire Miners, the Society's donations were confined to the assistance of groups of skilled workers before 1873. The bond between the Miners and the Glass Bottle Makers was initially the social tie of neighbourliness, both groups being predominant within the urban localities situated in the Yorkshire coalfield. The social contact soon developed an economic nature arising as a result of mutual support at times of industrial conflict. In 1870 Castleford Branch in response to an appeal for aid by the Association of West Yorkshire Miners, requested the Council to consider the appeal favourably "... as these men supported our Society very liberally and regularly in 1856."²³² It is not surprising therefore that of the £329 donated to local societies by the Glass Bottle Makers, 49% or £160 was in grants to the Miners. Nevertheless, the grants made by the Society before 1880 reveal both a degree of insularity, albeit erosive, and also craft-based exclusivity.

The primary element of assistance given by the Glass Bottle Makers was to those of their own craft, based in other areas, a not unnatural course since any depreciation in the wages and conditions of fellow artisans had implications for the socio-economic status of the Yorkshire men. It is significant that during the period of adversity faced by the Society they were willing to find several hundred pounds for the relief of their Scottish bretheren and yet feel unable to make a token gesture of assistance to the miners of South Yorkshire following their appeal in respect of the Holmes Colliery disaster,²³³ despite the special relationship with the miners. The influence of George Potter in breaking through the barriers of artisan exclusivity, while significant, could not obviate the tendency within the Society to provide its principal assistance for fellow craftsmen and although alliance with the unskilled labourers was of the utmost significance in the ensuing decades, it is evident that considerations of craft status were predominant during the third quarter of the nineteenth century.

(e) Amalgamation.

The third quarter of the nineteenth century witnessed two attempts at amalgamation on the part of the regional societies of glass bottle makers. In their attempts the various societies of the trade were following a generalised pattern of development initiated by the larger 'New Model' Societies such as the A.S.E., A.S.C.J. and the Ironfounders, whose national organisation provided consolidation of their craft strength and enabled them to enforce their desire for standard wages, control of output and trade entry.²³⁴ The Flint Glass Makers were in the vanguard of the development and a universal wage policy with standardised rates was regarded as their first priority even to the extent that the Executive was prepared to countenance^{a/} branches situated in high wage areas forfeiting increases to ensure uniformity.²³⁵ The Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers, despite their more compact geographical organisation which ensured a lesser disparity in wage levels, were, nevertheless, motivated by considerations of craft mobility and inadequate control of trade entry and the effect on wages and working conditions to desire a common front embracing national organisation. The parallel development of union organisation within other regions of glass bottle manufacture had resulted in simultaneous systems of organisation to that of the Yorkshire Society and thereby produced a structure upon which some form of amalgamation could be based.

TABLE 8:11 REGIONAL TRADE SOCIETIES OF G.B.Ms AND DATE OF ESTABLISHMENT OF EACH SOCIETY.

NAME OF SOCIETY	ESTABLISHED
Glass Bottle Makers of Yorkshire	1843
Lancashire District Glass Bottle Makers	1853
Glasgow Glass Bottle Makers	1848
Irish Glass Bottle Makers	1867
North of England Glass Bottle Makers	1873
Portobello Glass Bottle Makers	1895
Glass Bottle Makers of Bristol	1872
London Glass Bottle Makers	1873

Source: G.B.M. Society, Miscellaneous Articles and Statistics Relating to the Glass Industry 1905 - 1910, p 709.

The movement towards amalgamation seems to have occurred from the initiative of the Lancashire Glass Bottle Makers' Society. The Lancashire

Society as the first to feel the adverse effects of intensified trade development, had convened a 'Special Conference Meeting of Delegates' at Manchester, 13th December 1851, comprising representatives from Yorkshire and Lancashire to discuss propositions for the government of the two Counties.²³⁷ This first trade conference of the Glass Bottle Hands seems to have agreed in principal on some form of amalgamation for the 9th Proposition stipulated

"That Manchester be the Central place for the next six months, and Peter Gee Jun to be the Central Secretary."²³⁸

Lack of data concerning the relative memberships and the precise nature of the proposed amalgamation prevents accurate conclusions being formed concerning the failure to fully implement the design. The six monthly limitation on the location of the Central place suggests a parity in the size and importance of each Society and it may be that the scheme for amalgamation was rejected by either one, or both memberships from suspicion or jealousy. The Lancashire industry had reached the peak of its development while the Yorkshire trade was entering the first phase of expansion.²³⁹ This fact, considered in conjunction with the known militancy of the Yorkshire rank and file, and the implied support of the Lancashire members for their Executive initiative, suggests that the Yorkshire membership may have rejected the amalgamation proposal, deeming the introduction of a tramping agreement sufficient to safeguard the interests of both societies. (cf Chapter 7, sections (f) and (c) supra). The assault on the wages and conditions of work experienced by the regional bottlemaking societies was an undoubted factor in the revival of the movement towards national amalgamation in the late 1850s. Following a prolonged, but unsuccessful, attempt to resist a wage reduction of 4/- per week in 1857, the Lancashire Society resolved to create a united trade front by means of amalgamation. The Yorkshire Society's defeat and near collapse as a result of the Lock-Out of 1856 - 1857 made it receptive to the Lancashire proposal and as the result of a trade conference held at Carlisle, September 1858, the Glass Bottle Makers' United Trade Protection Society of Great Britain and Ireland (known as the United Society) was established.²⁴⁰ The United Society consisted of eleven districts comprising 23 branches, the six Yorkshire branches forming three of the constituent districts.²⁴¹ The two largest branches were St. Helens and Castleford.²⁹² The Society was governed by a Central Committee of District Delegates with Thomas Chadwick of

the Lancashire District being elected by the Delegates as the first Central Secretary. The function of the Secretary and Committee was to "promote all measures which are intended to improve the glass bottle makers in general" but the ideal proved to be impractical and the amalgamation was of short duration, collapsing sometime after March 1860.²⁴³ The concept of national unity perished on the altar of regional variation in trade conditions and customary observance which rendered ineffectual the application of a uniform policy as prescribed by Society Rules. The attempted uniformity is evident in the initial establishment of a system of tramp relief. Whilst an acknowledgement of ongoing practice in each of the constituent districts, and an attempt to remove district anomalies by the superimposition of a national framework as the basis for uniform wages and working conditions, it was an outdated concept, discarded by the Flint Glass Makers over a decade earlier because of its detrimental effect on artisan status.²⁴⁴ (cf Chapter 7 (b) supra). The system was necessary in order to obviate a pool of surplus and potentially blackleg labour.²⁴⁵ Such a surplus threatened to undermine the aims of the Central Committee by perpetuation of district differentials and the debasement of wages and working conditions. However, the tramping system carried similar dangers through the subsidised mobility of negligent and unprincipled artisans. Consequently within a year the system was abandoned and replaced by a system of static donation of nine shillings per week for unemployed members.²⁴⁶ Within a few months however, a proposal

"That the pay to the unemployed be stopped and abolished from the United Society altogether and that each District support their (sic) own"²⁴⁷

was submitted by the Central Committee to a vote of the trade. An accompanying proposal

"That a Tramping Fund be established at every works, and one penny each to be allowed to legal tramps in search of work,"²⁴⁸

was also submitted to the vote, and both propositions were accepted by the membership.²⁴⁹ It is significant that despite the fact that the propositions were formulated by the Central Committee and endorsed by the membership, the Central Committee upon publication of the vote should declare that

"As we are of the opinion that this (i.e. the resultant vote) is not a faithful return of the opinions of the whole trade, we solicit their further consideration and a correct return sent without delay."²⁵⁰

How can the Central Committee's repudiation of a favourable response to its own proposals be explained? Paucity of material concerning the affairs of the United Society restricts analysis of the situation to mere speculation, but it is not improbable that the Committee's attempt to replace tramping relief by static donation created a reaction amongst the rank and file members of the various districts who were advocates of customary trade observances arising from local autonomy based on primitive democratic concepts. Therefore, the members were suspicious and resentful of a Central Committee which attempted to dictate the nature and pace of changes in organisation and trade practice. The response of the Central Committee in framing the twin propositions above, could have represented an attempt to allay local discontent or more probably, to put the traditionalist issues to the vote of the trade in the hope of repudiation by the majority of members, thus strengthening support for progressive measures by the Central Committee in the future. The poor response by the members regarding the issues at stake would explain the reluctance of the Central Committee to accept the resultant vote as a firm basis for future administration of the Society. The ineffectuality of the attempt to apply a uniform attitude to ^avariant conditions within the districts comprising the Society is seen with regard to the issue of the hiring of artisans. Society Rules prohibited binding by contract and a heavy fine of £10 for each contracted year was stipulated for any member forming an agreement with an employer.²⁵¹ In areas such as the North of England and Bristol where binding money formed a traditional element of trade policy, being an integral part of the wage structure, such forfeiture was unacceptable. Consequently, the clause was dropped when the Rules were revised in 1859. A similar course was followed as a result of the abortive attempt to impose an apprentice ratio throughout the trade.²⁵² The prevailing situation was outlined in a letter to the Society Magazine from 'An Old Thinker' early in 1860, expressing regret for a decline of artisan status and working conditions as a result of having "fallen away from the rules which their forefathers left behind them". The writer stated that there were

"Scarce two districts in the whole trade but what some differences exist either in the way of working or in local rules, for in our trade each locality has its own rules which are of a traditional character, being handed down from generation to generation....."

The writer concluded that while district exclusivity rendered the trade unsafe in general, reform should be promoted from within the districts themselves rather than imposed from without for

"..... the very peculiarities are as varied as they are many, so that it is almost impossible to draw up rules so that all could conform to them."²⁵³

Signs of disintegration were already evident at the end of 1859. The North of England District, together with Scotland, had "withdrawn to themselves" in pursuance of individual objectives arising from local trade conditions. Both claimed that the Rules formulated at the Carlisle and Sunderland Conferences of 1858 and 1859 did not meet their particular requirements and mode of working nor take sufficient cognisance of the regulations of the various districts or divisions of the trade.²⁵⁴

In a reconciliatory gesture, the Central Committee affirmed the Society's objective as being

"That each branch or district should work under and according to the established rules and wages in the different branches or districts."²⁵⁵

To facilitate this design it was proposed that the Union be reorganised into four geographical divisions. The first, comprising the area from the Tees to the Tweed was to be based on the rules of the North of England District. Scotland was to form the second division of the trade and Yorkshire the third, while Dublin, Bristol and Stourbridge were to be incorporated with Lancashire and work according to the rules and conditions of that district.²⁵⁶ The proposal contained the seeds of its own destruction for the establishment of four large geographical regions destabilised the Society by undermining the centralism which was its cohesive element. Furthermore, the realignment of the trade paid little or no regard to the diverse elements within the proposed areas. The North of England area of jurisdiction, for example, contained five new bottle houses at

Middlesbrough, worked by Yorkshire Society artisans at rates and conditions of trade inferior to those of the Northern Society. Scotland had artisan groups at Portobello and Alloa, whose wages and conditions of work were a direct influence on those of the Glasgow artisans belonging to the United Society. The areas forming the remaining division of the trade were by their geographically wide dispersal, subject to diverse working and market conditions. Equally diverse factors had, however, faced the Flint Glass Makers a decade earlier and together with initial administrative problems not unlike those experienced within the United Society, had been successfully overcome. Why then did the United Society collapse? One important difference concerns the general condition of trade at the time each society was founded. The Flint Glass Makers were reorganised at the advent of a prosperous era of trade, whereas the United Society sought to become established during the lull between the boom of the early fifties and its recurrence twenty years later. Indeed, the deterioration in wages and conditions arising from the cyclical depression, post 1856, was a compelling factor in the attempt by the bottle makers to establish a centrally governed national organisation. A further difference concerns the psychology of both artisan groups. Thus, although each group contained traditionalist elements and were adherents of local autonomy based on primitive democratic sentiment, the bottle makers appear to have been a considerably more militant body, with a more entrenched provincialism than their flint glass contemporaries. An important consideration in regard to the last point was the difference in the degree of experience concerning the previous history of the two societies. The Flint Glass Makers upon reorganisation were able to profit from the experience gained during their recent, unsuccessful, attempt at national organisation during the years 1844 - 1848. Such experience was denied to the leaders of the United Society who were faced with the threat of the disintegration of the infant Society. Faced with ideological friction produced as a result of the rapidity of a centralising tendency, the 'United' leaders proved to be less single-minded than Gillander and his Executive in 1852 and advocated a compromise solution which, whilst showing flexibility, promoted the very insularity which was the destabilising feature within the trade. Similarly, lack of any previous attempt at national unity meant that the rank and file concept of collective identity among bottle makers was confined to district membership which rendered them less sensitive to the necessity for wider combination and less sympathetic to new systems of organisation.

The subject of amalgamation was revived in 1871, when the Lancashire Society, sensing the general upturn in trade as an opportunity for the improvement of working conditions throughout the trade, circularised all the regional bottlemaking societies concerning the issue. As a result, a Conference of Delegates from the Lancashire, Scottish and Irish Societies met at the Tontine Hotel, Glasgow, 4th February 1871, to discuss the best means of effecting an amalgamation.²⁵⁷ It was decided that the Lancashire Society should draft Specimen Rules and also invite the Yorkshire Society to join an amalgamation.²⁵⁸ The Yorkshire Society, whilst not dismissive, placed a low priority on the proposed scheme, delaying full consideration for several months. Other regional societies, perhaps mindful of the abortive measures a decade or so earlier, also hesitated. As a result, despite several circularised Addresses to the Trade, no progress was made for over a year. A further Address issued by the Lancashire Society somewhat despairingly asked "How is it that a closer unity in the various Branches and Districts of the Glass Bottle Trade does not exist similar to that adopted by other trades?".²⁵⁹ A second Conference was held at Allen's Temperance Hotel, Glasgow, 26th - 29th April 1872. The Conference was attended by twelve Delegates, representing seven trade societies comprising a total membership of 970,²⁶⁰ who formally established 'The Glass Bottle Makers of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland Amalgamated Trade Association' (hereafter named The Amalgamated Society). Despite direct appeals by the Lancashire and Glasgow Societies, the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Makers declined to be represented at the Conference, choosing instead to submit the issue of membership of the Amalgamated Society for deliberation by the Branches. Some members were in favour of entering into an arrangement for mutual assistance in cases of Strikes and Lock-Outs, similar to that appertaining during the recently defunct Alliance of Organised Trades. Few members, however, favoured the proposed terms of the Amalgamated Society.²⁶¹ As a result, the Council resolved

"That in the opinion of this Meeting there is only a small portion of the members in favour of joining the Amalgamated Association: therefore this Meeting cannot see its way to take any further action at present."²⁶²

The decision, communicated to C. Bishop, General Secretary of The Amalgamated Society by the Yorkshire Secretary, clearly indicates

one area which influenced the Yorkshire hands

"The members prefer retaining the present arrangement of distribution of benefits of a Friendly character. At the same time they held a high opinion in regard to the establishment of a fund for assistance in cases of Strike and Lock-Out. The best wishes of the Delegates is that the Association may prosper."²⁶³

The reluctance of the Yorkshire artisans has to be seen in the context of the changed conditions affecting the Society and its neighbours during the interregnum between the two attempts at amalgamation. In 1858, the Yorkshire Society, seeking refuge at a time of adversity and status debasement, was no more powerful or influential than any component element of the United Society. By 1872, however, as a result of the development of the County trade during the preceding decade, the Society was predominant throughout the entire trade, with a membership equal to 82% of the combined membership of the Amalgamated Society and assets in excess of £10,000.

TABLE 8:12 COMPARATIVE DATA - YORKSHIRE AND LANCASHIRE GLASS BOTTLE MAKING INDUSTRY 1872

DISTRICT	BOTTLE HOUSES	JOURNEYMEN	APPRENTICES	TOTAL	% UNEMPLOYED
Yorkshire	75	689	214	903	2.2
Lancashire	18	168	66	234	5.1

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, Appendix I, p 408.

Table 8:12 shows the extent to which the Yorkshire District had outstripped its nearest rival, the Lancashire Society, during the decade 1862 - 1872. From an approximate parity at the time of the United Society, the Yorkshire District had by 1872, four times as many bottle houses as its rival. The number of members in the Yorkshire Society had outpaced those of the Lancashire Society by a corresponding amount, with the percentage of unemployed members belonging to the latter Society being more than twice that of Yorkshire. In addition to the wide range and high level of welfare benefits developed within the

TABLE 8:13 COMPARISON OF TRADE BENEFITS ADMINISTERED BY VARIOUS REGIONAL G.B.M.'s SOCIETIES 1872

TYPE OF BENEFIT	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY
UNEMPLOYMENT ALLOWANCE	GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS OF YORKSHIRE UNITED TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY	GLASS BOTTLEMAKERS TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE	GLASS BOTTLEMAKERS UNITED TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF GLASGOW	GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AMALGAMATED TRADE ASSOCIATION
	9/- per week until the member obtains employment at his own branch of the trade.	9/- per week for thirteen weeks and a further sum of 6d per week for another thirteen weeks	10/- per week allowed for six weeks. Any further allowance to be decided by a vote of the members.	5/- per week for seven weeks and 3/- per week for four weeks. Benefit then suspended until member has worked and paid for another six months.
ALLOWANCE WHEN IN SEARCH OF WORK	£2-3-0 every six months, provided the member visit all the branches in Yorkshire and Lancashire.	£1-10-0 every six months provided the member visit every branch in Yorkshire.	£1-0-0 allowed in case of losing employment after paying Entrance Fee and contributions for six months. £2-0-0 and card granted to members after paying 12 months. This benefit granted on condition that the member travel through the County in search of work.	NONE
SUPERANNUATION ALLOWANCE	If a member for three years and clear on the books every quarter night, 3/- per week: five years membership - 5/- per week, irrespective of other income.	Members fifty years of age who have paid five years consecutively into the Society to be allowed 5/- per week.	Members having paid for 10 years to be allowed 7/- per week in case of accident, infirmity or old age.	If member 5 years, 3/- per week; for ten years 5/- per week; for fifteen years 6/- per week and for twenty years 7/- per week until death. Members 50 years of age to be eligible to declare on Superannuated Rule, if unable to follow employment. In case of earning £1-0-0 per week at any other calling, superannuated pay to be forfeited at such time.
ACCIDENT ALLOWANCE	NONE	Members disabled by accident or otherwise and rendered permanently unable to follow the trade, if a free member and paid five years into the Society, 5/- per week until death, provided the accident do not proceed from improper conduct. A grant may be made in lieu of weekly payments and travelling card.	AS ABOVE STIPULATED	NONE

TABLE 8:13 continued:

TYPE OF BENEFIT	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY	NAME OF SOCIETY
FUNERAL ALLOWANCE	GLASS BOTTLE MAKERS OF YORKSHIRE UNITED TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY	CLASS BOTTLEMAKERS TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF LANCASHIRE	CLASS BOTTLEMAKERS UNITED TRADE PROTECTION SOCIETY OF GLASGOW	CLASS BOTTLE MAKERS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND AMALGAMATED TRADE ASSOCIATION
	On death of a member £10-0-0. Members wife or widow £7-0-0. Members child under seven years of age £1-0-0. Above seven but under fourteen, £2-0-0. £30-0-0 paid to members widow at expiration of one year from his death, provided she do not commit adultery.	On death of a member £12-0-0; members wife £10-0-0. No member to receive funeral benefit for a second wife within a period of two years. Members children under 14 years of age £2-0-0. Fourneyment members to pay 1/- on the death of a member for payment to his widow, in addition to the £12-0-0.	£12-0-0 on death of a member; members wife £7-0-0; members child under 14 years of age, £1-0-0. Voluntary subscription to be made on behalf of widow and family, or the members mother or nominee in case of not being married, at the end of 3 months from his death. No member to receive funeral benefit for second wife or nominee within 12 months.	On death of member £12-0-0; members wife £8-0-0, members child if born alive and under 14 years of age £2-0-0. Unmarried members may nominate their mothers to receive funeral benefit. Grant of £20 to widows of deceased members in one sum or by instalments, according to request, after 6 months have expired from death of member, provided he was a working and paying member for 12 months.
STRIKE - LOCK-OUT ALLOWANCE	In cases of oppression or locked-out for taking part in a strike, full wages until member obtains employment at his own trade.	Members being discharged for adhering to Society's Rules, full wages to be allowed, provided they act on the advice of the Executive.	NONE	When on strike or lock-out £1-0-0 per week: Districts to have power to put men on this benefit in case of refusing to comply with unjust demands of employers. Members discharged or holding office, £1-0-0 per week, and expenses of removal.
EMIGRATION ALLOWANCE	NONE	£5-0-0 allowed to members who have been five years in the Society if they wish to emigrate. No member to receive this benefit twice.	NONE	NONE

Source: G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 48 - 50.

Yorkshire Society, the strong market position of the Yorkshire District with its unique specialisation in pale metal wares, enabled the Society to obtain uniform wage and overwork rates based on standardised measurement of production, and exercise effective control of entry into the County trade, aims unattained in the remaining districts of the bottle trade. The strong market position and wealth of the Yorkshire Society made its membership of the Amalgamation essential for the power and financial stability of the latter. The terms embodied in the Rules of the Amalgamated Society meant, however, mutual acceptance by the member Districts of each others artisans. Membership on such terms would have been disadvantageous for the Yorkshire artisans. Table 8:13 (supra) compares the benefit provision of the Yorkshire Society with those of the Lancashire and Glasgow Societies who were the prime movers of the Amalgamation. The Table also shows the proposed benefits of the Amalgamated Society. It will be seen that in general terms, the allowances applicable to the Yorkshire District were in advance of those of either of the other societies or those of the Amalgamated Society. To subscribe to the Amalgamated Society Rules therefore represented a direct reduction in the economic status of the Yorkshire artisans in the context of debasement of existing benefit levels. In addition, as the Rules of the Amalgamated Society stipulated that each District Society was to bear a burden of expense proportionate to its membership, the Yorkshire Society would in effect have been subsidising the residual element of the Amalgamation with no corresponding benefits.²⁶⁴ Mutual acceptance of transferred members posed a more fundamental threat to the socio-economic status of the Yorkshiresmen, however, through the surrender of all control of artisan entry into the County trade. The reluctance of the Yorkshire Society to adopt such a measure is evident by its rejection in 1870 of an attempt by the Glasgow Society to secure for its expatriate members the privileges appertaining to the Lancashire artisans as a result of the 1869 Agreement.²⁶⁵ A further important consideration by the leaders of the Yorkshire Society concerning the constitution of the Amalgamated Society was its hybrid nature. Influenced by the fate of the United Society's "..... having failed through advancing too much",²⁶⁶ the authors of the Rules of the Amalgamated Society sought to define a system of government designed to "commend itself to the most conservative and, at the same time meet the views of the most liberal."²⁶⁷ Thus, although the Preface to the Rules was almost literally copied from those of the A.S.E., the

rules themselves did not correspond with the principles set forth in it.²⁵⁸ By ensuring ".... full power to each District to make their own Bye Laws, manage its own business and work according to the customs and usage of the said District,"²⁶⁹ the organisation of the Society was seen to be in clear contradistinction to the principles of centralised uniformity which characterised other 'New Model' Societies, a fact which was very influential with the Yorkshire leaders.²⁷⁰

The failure to place all the Amalgamated Districts on a centrally administered platform of uniform benefits was a source of disagreement from the commencement of the Society.²⁷¹ The situation was exacerbated by Yorkshire artisans called upon to conform to the regulations of the Amalgamated Society when working in Lancashire District where observation of the terms of the 1869 Agreement between the Yorkshire and Lancashire Societies conflicted with the Rules of the Amalgamated Society.²⁷² In August 1873, following a decision reached at the Sunderland Conference of the Amalgamated Society the previous May, a three-man Delegation waited upon the Yorkshire Executive Council to urge the Yorkshire Society to join the Amalgamation.²⁷³ A subsequent Delegate Meeting Resolution

"That a vote of the members be taken in favour of joining the Amalgamated Association"²⁷⁴ (my italics) is somewhat misleading, its positive tone being adopted as a technicality to facilitate the trade vote decreed by the Council rather than an indication of Executive fervour for membership of the Amalgamated Society.²⁷⁵ Although less than one third of Yorkshire Society members voted on the issue, the Resolution in favour of joining the Amalgamated Society was overwhelmingly defeated.²⁷⁶ As a result of the Yorkshire decision the economic capacity of the Amalgamated Districts was undermined. At the Edinburgh Conference of 1874, the Amalgamated Society was compelled to adopt a proposal by the North of England District that the Society be restructured, with each District managing its own funds and benefits,²⁷⁷ becoming merely a loose federation providing mutual assistance and support at times of strike and lock-out.²⁷⁸ The Yorkshire Society was the key element in the fate of the second phase of amalgamation within the British Glass Bottle Industry, by virtue of size, wealth and an administrative apparatus which, although imperfect, was well in advance of that of any other Society.²⁷⁹

The Yorkshire Executive, influenced by the practical success of its own governmental organisation appreciated more than those of fellow societies the necessity for centralised uniformity and alone perceived the contradiction between the professed ideals of the Amalgamated Society and the sectionalism which formed its practical basis. While recognising the desirability for national organisation and willing to make substantial financial contributions to assist other Societies within the Amalgamation, the Yorkshire Executive was unwilling to compromise its 'New Model' principles to sectionalism. When such compromise involved depreciation in the standard of welfare provision and the hazard of debasement of the socio-economic and craft status of the Yorkshire artisans, the idea of amalgamation on such terms was anathema.

CHAPTER EIGHT: Union Policies

1. Webb S & B. 'Industrial Democracy' pp 454 - 455. Musson Trade Union & Social History, p 101, has also ascribed the origin of union restriction to craft guilds but views the monopolistic outlook of the unions as unsuited to the conditions of industrial expansion in the nineteenth century, although appreciating the application of policies of restricted trade entry in the context of maintaining traditional standards of artisan life in face of undercutting competition and trade fluctuation with the accompanying unemployment and distress.
2. Turner W.E.S. The British Glass Industry: Its Development and Outlook. J.S.G.T. Volume 6, 1922, pp 30 - 45.
3. Matsumura T., op cit, p 229.
4. Ibid, p 234.
5. Ibid, pp 231 - 234.
6. Ibid, p 229.
7. For the adverse effects of growing trade competition on Yorkshire Flint Glass Bottle Makers cf Matsumura T. op cit, p 135.
8. United G.B.M. Society Rules, 1858, Rule 26 Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 458. The Rule was not included in the G.B.M. Society Rules, 1862 or 1865 which established the Central Government of the Society.
9. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 34.
10. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 260. It was claimed that as many as six apprentices per bottlehouse had existed at some time previously, but that the number had been reduced to three per house due to the resistance of the workmen.
11. Ibid.
12. Matsumura, op cit, pp 236 - 237.

13. G.B.M. Society Rules 1862, Rule 5, stated

"That all Apprentices in the Glass Bottle Trade in Yorkshire shall enter the Society at the age of eighteen years, providing they be gatherers; but if they defer entering the Society until they are twenty years old, they must pay the two years' contributions up, and should they not enter the Society whilst they get to be journeymen they must pay the sum of £5, and be six months before they are entitled to benefit."

The Revised Rules, 1865, stated

"... they must pay the sum of £5 or they will not be worked with....." (my italics).

cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 466 and p 469. For a similar instance of financial pressure in order to enforce membership within the printing industry cf Musson, Trade Union & Social History, p 86.

14. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 216 for reprint of Resolution No. 3., January 21st 1867.

15. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 26.

16. Ibid, p 28.

17. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 215. Reprint of Resolution 10, February 19th 1866.

18. Artisans desirous of taking an occasional holiday were required to make their own arrangements to ensure adequate cover since the absence of any member disrupted the chair and resulted in loss of earnings. In the event of sudden illness of a chair member the temporary promotion of an apprentice was acceptable providing no alternative source of journeyman labour was available, but irresponsible conduct or incapacity through drunkenness by artisans or self-interested manipulation by employers resulting in the deliberate breaking-up of chair composition was the reason for the resolution.

19. The artisan was to accept the diktat of the employers but not to stand the loss in earnings arising from defective units cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 364.
20. Ibid, p 313.
21. Ibid. Only five firms responded to the Union Circular. These were Lumb & Co., and Hardy & Rickard, Castleford, Tillotson & Co., Swinton, Barron & Co., Mexbro and B. Ryland, Ardsley.
22. Ibid.
23. The most important absentee was Edgar Breffit of Castleford, whilst George Kilner of Thornhill Lees and Conisbro, a strong opponent of the Union, attended as an observer and refused to participate in the business of the meeting. Ibid.
24. Ibid, pp 313 - 314.
25. Ibid, p 357.
26. Ibid, Proposition 1.
27. Ibid, Propositions 4, 5 and 6.
28. Ibid, Propositions 3, 9 and 7.
29. Ibid, p 356 for returns of votes on above propositions, none of which exceeded 56% of the total journeyman membership of the Society and less than 45% of the entire membership.
30. Ibid, pp 357 - 358 Propositions 8 and 10.
31. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 34 - 35 for Kilner's counter proposals and modifications by the Workmens' Committee.
32. Ibid.
33. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 235.

34. Hobsbawm op cit, pp 64 - 65 for details concerning the decline in living standards 1780 - 1850. For specific reference to the effect on craftsmen during the period ibid, pp 276 - 278 and pp 348 - 349.
35. Musson, Trade Union & Social History notes the co-operative venture of the Block Printers between 1760 - 1846. Leeson R.A. 'Travelling Brothers', p 119 has traced many examples of union co-operatives established on a temporary basis in order to alleviate unemployment and destitution at times of trade disputes during the late eighteenth, early nineteenth centuries.
36. Ibid.
37. Cole G.D.H., A Century of Co-operation (Allen & Unwin, 1944), p 158.
38. Checkland S.G. The Growth of Industrial Society in England - 1815 - 1885. (Longmans 1964), p 351 for details of the Land League. Leeson op cit, p 181 for its effects upon trade unions. For the influence of Robert Owen cf Musson, Trade Union & Social History, Chapter 8. Also Tholfsen T.R., Working Class Radicalism in Mid Victorian England. (Croom Helm 1976), pp102 - 111.
39. Webb S & B., History.... p 225.
40. Matsumura op cit, pp 273 - 274.
41. Tholfsen op cit, p 229, for influence of Temperance Movement on the upward social mobility and state of being of working class men.
42. For examples of expressions concerning the social desirability of education of glass artisans, and practical suggestions of co-operative effort by the Union and manufacturers to organise and finance factory schools, F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 538 and pp 596 - 601.

43. Wearmouth R.F. Methodism and the Working Class Movements of England 1800 - 1850. (Epworth Press 1947) for the influence of the Non-Conformist Churches, particularly the Methodists, on working class attitudes. For a conflicting perspective cf Hobsbawm op cit, pp 23-33.
44. Matsumura, op cit, pp 273 - 274.
45. A statement that two-thirds of glass manufacturers were ex artisans appears in F.G.M.M., Volume V, p 225, whilst C.S. Benjamin Smart, asserted that the number of manufacturers in the trade had doubled between 1858 - 1865, almost everyone being an artisan who had risen through the stages of the trade, Ibid, p 1471. For an example of artisan success based on dogged determination to succeed cf ibid, p 556.
46. F.G.M.M. Volume IV, pp 410 - 415 for Leicester's attitude.
47. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 471 and p 718 for Smart's outlook.
48. F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 235. Quoted in Matsumura op cit, p 274.
49. Ibid, p 275.
50. Ibid, pp 275 - 276.
51. Ibid, pp 276 - 277.
52. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 49. The Ferrybridge Glassworks had recently been vacated by Mr. Thatcher, a tenant, who had subsequently established the Glassworks at Blaydon-on-Tyne with a workforce of Yorkshire artisans.
53. Ibid.
54. Ibid.
55. For details concerning the career of John Wild cf Pontefract & Castleford Express, 15th October 1981.
56. Manchester Guardian, 3rd June 1868.

57. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XXI, p 460.
58. Mussen Trade Union & Social History, p 180. Within a short space of time following the collapse of the G.B.M's Co-operative, Edgar Breffit, Alderman and Sheriff of London, the leading British bottle manufacturer, and principal opponent of the workmen, leased the Ferrybridge works from Sir John Ramsden. The action seen in conjunction with the bitter attitude of Castleford artisans at that time (cf Hardcastle op cit, p 34) and Alfred Greenwood's contemptuous and dismissive attitude towards Ramsden (G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, p 9) may indicate a prima facie case of collusion between manufacturer and landowner.
59. Matsumura, op cit, p 277.
60. Ibid, f/n 3.
61. F.G.M.M. Volume V, pp 558 - 559 for reprint of Lord Brougham's Address to the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science, at Sheffield, concerning the concept of co-operation as exemplified by the Rochdale Pioneers. The Address was followed by a paper read by G.J. Holyoake, outlining the industrial application of co-operative principles.
62. Ibid, p 721. Campbell's attitude contrasts sharply with that of the editor of the rival Glasgow Herald who was a bitter opponent of trade unionism and of the F.G.M. Society in particular, ibid, pp 851 - 854.
63. Ibid, pp 410 - 415.
64. Ibid, pp 486 - 491 for conflicting views concerning Leicester's proposals.
65. The outcome of the venture is not known. Privately owned glassworks existed at both locations in the late 1860s. The workers at both sites belonging to the G.B.Ms Society.
66. F.G.M.M. loc cit, p 555.
67. Ibid, pp 912 - 913.

68. Ibid. A letter signed 'Self Help' also featured in the same issue ibid, pp 114 - 121.
69. Matsumura op cit, pp 279 - 280.
70. F.G.M.M. Volume V, pp 984 - 992 and p 1044. Also Matsumura, op cit.
71. F.G.M.M. op cit. Packwood became C.S. of the F.G.M. Society in 1874 and continued in office until 1879.
72. Ibid, Frontispiece, pp 15 - 16.
73. Matsumura op cit, pp 280 - 281 for recommendation of and response to Packwood's scheme.
74. Ibid, pp 281 - 282.
75. The Social Future of the Working Class, a lecture by E.S. Beesly, Reprinted in Frow R.E. and Katanka A.M. (eds) 1868 - Year of the Unions - a documentary survey. (Michael Katanka (Books) 1968), pp 150 - 175.
76. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 296.
77. Ibid, p 299.
78. Park Glassworks, Birmingham, was the longest established firm in the Midland District, being founded in 1786. Dr. Lloyd was the Secretary of the Midland Employers Association (cf Chapter five, supra). The C.C. of the F.G.M. Society hoped that the combination of these two facts would provide impetus to other glass manufacturers and establish a pattern for the Trade, ibid, p 905.
79. Ibid, p 1058.
80. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 27.
81. Ibid, pp 32 - 33.

82. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 77 - 82.
83. Matsumura op cit, p 284.
84. S & B Webb, History..., pp 201 - 202.
85. C. Erickson, The Encouragement of Emigration by British Trade Unions, 1850 - 1900 in Population Studies, Vol 3, 1949-50, p 250.
86. R.V. Clements, Trade Unions and Emigration 1840 - 1880 in Population Studies, Vol. 9, 1955-56, pp 167 - 180.
87. Ibid, p 170.
88. G.D.H. Cole, British Trade Unionism in the Third Quarter of the nineteenth century in International Review of Social History, Vol. II, 1937, pp 21 - 22.
89. Clements, op cit, p 168.
90. Morning Chronicle Report, 23rd December 1850, quoted in Matsumura op cit, pp 260 - 261.
91. Ibid. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 8. Before the nineteenth century emigration artisan emigration was officially prohibited cf Redford A., Labour Migration in England 1800 - 1850 (Revised and edited by W.H. Challoner, Manchester University Press, 1964), p 176.
92. Clements, op cit, p 169.
93. Several leading members of the Flint Glass Makers' Society had recourse to emigration, the two most notable being William Gillinder who emigrated to America shortly after giving up his post as Central Secretary in 1853, and William Nixon, who was instrumental in re-organising the Society after its collapse in 1848. Both these men succeeded in establishing glassworks in their adoptive countries with Nixon also becoming a member of the Australian State Legislature. For discussion of this aspect cf Erickson p 263 op cit. The undercutting of English wages by imigrant Irish may also explain the spurt in

- emigration in the 1840s cf Carrier and Jeffery 'External Migration', a study of the available statistics 1815 - 1950 (Studies on Medical & Population Subjects No. 6 General Register Office, H.M.S.O., 1953), p 31. For origins of artisan emigration, A. Redford, op cit, p 178.
94. Clements, op cit, p 169.
 95. For examples of voluntary branch donation cf F.G.M.M. November 1863, p 85. Erickson, op cit, p 259 re district operated schemes c 1860s.
 96. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 85; Volume II, p 433 and Volume VI, p 1034.
 97. Matsumura op cit, p 155 names William Gillinder as first C.S. In fact, Gillinder was the third C.S., William Bamford 1849 - 1850 and William Sivewright 1850 - 1852 being the first two. The confusion may have arisen due to the practice of not overtly identifying the C.S. before 1853 and also the fact that Gillinder as Editor of the F.G.M. Magazine between 1849 - 1854 would combine both roles after 1852 and therefore tend to suggest that such was the case for the entire period 1849 - 1854.
 98. F.G.M.M., Volume I, pp 37 - 38.
 99. Ibid, p 260. Gillinder's estimates for the quarter were - Income, £117-4-0, Expenditure, £226-10-0.
 100. Ibid, p 340.
 101. Ibid, p 342 and Volume II p 452. Cf Erickson, op cit, pp 265 - 266 re varied scale of emigration grant according to length of membership and amount of members' subscription of Bolton District of United Cotton Spinners' Society.
 102. F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 446.
 103. Erickson, op cit, p 272, but there are qualifications regarding the nature of economic stimulation as a preliminary to each phase of emigration (cf *infra*).

104. Ibid, p 252.
105. Carrier & Jeffery, op cit, pp 31 - 32.
106. F.G.M.M. Volume II, pp 1 - 3 'Emigration as a Means to an End'.
C.Cs Address to Trade.
107. Ibid, pp 37 - 38. In cases of emergency the three year period could at the C.C's discretion be waived and the grant allowed at its basic rate.
108. F.G.M.M., Volume II, p 187 for Returns of Votes.
109. Clements, op cit, p 180.
110. F.G.M.M. Volume II, February 1854, pp 1 - 3.
111. For ease of transit across the Atlantic by union members cf Clements, op cit, p 169. For details and sources of information re decreasing costs transatlantic crossing by steamship using steerage fare cf Erickson op cit, p 226 and f/n 2, Ibid. William Gillinder, F.G.M.M. Volume II, p 109, quoted in Matsumura, op cit, p 265, pointed out that many emigrants soon return bearing bad reports. For economic reasons underlying return cf Redford, op cit, p 177.
112. Carrier & Jeffery, op cit, p 18. For an example of this method of transit being stated as a basis for imposition on the F.G.M. Society cf the case of Michael Alexander of Dublin. F.G.M.M. Volume II, p 433.
113. Matsumura, op cit, p 264.
114. F.G.M.M. Volume V, p 148.
115. Ibid, pp 666 - 667 and ibid, p 978.
116. Ibid, p 1051. The rule was retrospective to include all members who had previously emigrated with C.C. approval.
117. Ibid, p 1005.

118. cf Erickson op cit, p 267, f/n 2 and ibid, pp 270 - 271.
119. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, p 11. The 32nd Rule allowed members in areas beyond the government of the Society, or outside the Trade, to retain membership by remittance of quarterly subscription paid in advance of 3/-.
120. F.G.M.M. Volume VI, p 645.
121. Ibid, p 711.
122. F.G.M.M. Quarterly accounts, August 1854, May 1869, August 1869.
123. Erickson, op cit, p 272. Ibid, p 250, Erickson, whilst noting the growth of political activity by Trade Unions during the 1860s and 1870s, does not consider it inconsistent with pursuit of emigration policies.
124. In the case of the F.G.M. Society the membership had the theoretical right to approve or reject the executive members nominated by the C.S., but there is no instance recorded of the choice of the C.S. being questioned.
125. F.G.M.M. Volume I, pp 6 - 7. Also Volume VI, p 468.
126. Clements, op cit, p 170, in Matsumura, op cit, p 260. For example of adverse report by emigrant F.G.Ms cf Volume VI, pp 1026 - 1034. This may contain the essence of an assertion by Clements that emigrants wrote adverse accounts as they were 'not anxious to share a good thing'. Ibid. It is also interesting to note that the letter was forwarded for publication by J. Leicester, London D.S. and an influential, non-executive, member of the F.G.M. Society, who was opposed to its emigration policy. cf Matsumura, op cit, p 268 f/n 4.
127. F.G.M.M. Accounts, November 1869 - August 1870 *passim*.
128. Clements, op cit, p 171.
129. Matsumura, op cit, p 269.

130. Ibid, quoting Webbs 'History.....', p 102.
131. F.G.M.M. 1873 - 1880 passim. n.b. figures for 1879 not yet available. The assets of £4011-0-0 in May 1880 were the lowest amount since August 1863 when the sum of £3533-18-6d representing £2-8-8d per capita.
132. One member of the F.G.M. Society had in fact, emigrated in August 1877 but this was the only case between November 1870 and February 1880. However, as early as 1825 - 1826 artisan metal workers had been among emigrants travelling to America (cf Redford, op cit, p 179) shortly before the explosion of the Yorkshire Glass Bottle Trade.
133. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 275.
134. Ibid.
135. Ibid, p 272.
136. Ibid, p 344. Reporting D.M. of 30th September 1879.
137. Council Minute Book entry, 22nd September 1880.
138. Ibid, G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 114 for copy of Grant Agreement.
139. Ibid, p 114.
140. Council Minute Book, entry 12th January 1881.
141. G.B.M. Reports, 1876 - 1880 passim.
142. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 108 contains a letter from F.S. Tomlin to Thomas Ward of Castleford, dated 12th December, 1880, in which Tomlin states that the Glass Blowers League of the U.S. of which he was a Committee man, has no objection to English artisans as all previous emigrants 'were the right kind of men: thorough believers in organisation and staunch supporters of the League.' In recent months, however, less reputable

men had arrived; therefore Tomlin sought to regulate both flow and quality by restrictions mutually agreed between the League and the Society. The less skilled and, perhaps, less reputable artisans were doubtless the first to become unemployed and therefore, likely to avail themselves of the Emigration Grant. The extension of the Grant facility to working artisans early in January, 1881, would make the fear of some Delegates that some of the better members of Society would be induced to emigrate, more understandable. Also on subject of quality artisans, Ibid, p 104.

143. For similar repayment system re brushmakers cf Kiddier, op cit, pp 93 - 97.
144. F.G.M.M. Volume IX, pp 668 - 669. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 286.
145. An advertisement from an American manufacturer reprinted F.G.M.M. 13th August 1880 offered English artisans second class cabin fare and wages of £4 p.w. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 104.
146. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VIII, p 109. Report from U.S.A. re Glass Trade, reprinted from Pottery Gazette and Glass Trades Review 1st July 1881.
147. Ibid, p 104. Ibid, p 109. Letter to Alfred Greenwood from F.S. Tomlin dated 18th April 1881 stated 200 emigrants had come to the U.S.A. that year.
148. Ibid, p 108. Letter to Alfred Greenwood from Horace Miller of Philadelphia, 13th February 1881. The writer was, from his fractured English, clearly of foreign origin. In his letter he states their intention of stopping all Englishmen from working in the U.S.A. as the American glass industry was being 'run down by A. Greenwood'. In 1886, A. Greenwood had founded the International Union of Glassworkers because of the lack of trade unions in Europe. (cf Chapter 13 (b) *infra*).

149. Ibid, names 4 out of 5 English artisans who were unable to obtain work in Philadelphia, all 4 being from the 12 who had received emigration grants from the Yorkshire Society in 1881.
150. Ibid, pp 242 - 243, also Ibid, p 260, p 262 and pp 264 - 266.
151. G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, p 11.
152. F.G.M.M. Volume XI, p 352.
153. F.G.M.M. Volume 7 (New Series), pp 244 - 247, Address to Trade.
154. Matsumura, op cit, p 271 lists £306 expended on 59 members. The random nature of the district accounts in the early period of the Society makes compilation difficult, but the figures are close enough to be comparable. Both Societies received back part of the initial expenditure so that in effect the Yorkshire Society only expended £66. The amount repaid to the F.G.M. Society is not known, but of negligible proportions.
155. This fear was clearly enunciated by the Executive of the Moulders Society and by elements within the F.G.M. Society, cf Leeson, op cit, p 188 and Correspondence by Glasgow District in F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 340.
156. Between 1849 - 1893 the F.G.M. Society had 12 Executives nominated by 10 different elected C. Secretaries (William Sivewright and B. Smart serving twice). The 13th Executive was appointed by J.J. Rudge, part-time Permanent C.S. in 1893 and replaced by an elected Representative Executive Council in 1899.
157. Leeson, op cit, pp 185 - 186. Also Redford, op cit, pp 24 - 25 for example of same attitude to long distance internal migration in early industrial period by parents of London children being given statutory assistance to Lancashire as factory labour and Nottingham framework knitters being offered emigration in 1820 - 30s. op cit, p 111 re attitude to emigration.
158. F.G.M.M. Volume VI, p 187.
159. Clements, op cit, pp 170 - 171.

160. Howell G. 'Trade Unionism New and Old', p 118.
161. Clements, op cit, p 173.
162. F.G.M.M. Quarterly Accounts 1852 - 1874 passim. For comparison with artisans in other trades cf Erickson, op cit, p 264, f/n 4 which contains a Table showing the following totals for the period 1862 - 1885:
- | | |
|--------------------|----------|
| Miners | 136,434, |
| Spinners & Weavers | 17,131, |
| Engineers | 19,630 |
- but these were not necessarily given union assistance.
163. Erickson, op cit, p 268.
164. Ibid, also cf f/n 2.
165. Ibid, p 249. Clements, op cit, p 172. Matsumura, op cit, p 269, endorses Erickson's point.
166. No tramping benefit was paid between 1881 - 1884 when the last instance occurred. After 1884, train fares were provided for artisans travelling to specific vacancies.
167. G.B.M. Reports, Annual Accounts, 1876 and 1880 passim.
168. Brundage D., op cit, p 40. Also G.B.M. Reports, Volume XVII, pp 24 - 25 for evidence of D.A. Hayes, President, G.B. Blowers Association of America to the Industrial Commission at Washington D.C. 15th March 1899, re American Glass Industry and the attitude of his Association to restriction of immigrant labour.
169. Alfred Greenwood with his wide experience and connections with leaders of foreign based trade unions must have realised how inopportune the time was for launching an emigration scheme successfully.
170. Leeson, op cit, suggests union sponsored emigration did little to alleviate unemployment and suggests stringency of conditions resulted in poor response, p 185.

171. For general and occupationally based emigration statistics
cf Carrier & Newton, 'Internal Migration 1815 - 1950', passim.
172. Webb S & B., History....., p 233.
173. The 'Junta' consisted of William Allen (ASE), Robert Applegarth
(ASCJ), George Odger (Ladies Shoemakers), Daniel Guilde (Iron-
founders) and Edwin Coulson (Bricklayers) Ibid.
174. Coltham S. 'The Beehive Newspaper: its Origin and Early
Struggles' in Briggs A and Saville J (eds) (Essays in Labour
History, 1960), pp 174 - 204. Also Coltham S, 'George Potter,
the Junta and the Bee Hive', International Review of Social
History, Volume IX, 1964.
175. Loc cit, p 174.
176. At its apogee in 1865, the Bee Hive had a circulation of about
5,000 copies per week.
177. Matsumura T, op cit, pp 299 - 300.
178. Ibid, p 301.
179. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 5.
180. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 22 - 27.
181. Ibid, pp 28 - 30.
182. Ibid, p 3.
183. Matsumura, op cit, pp 327 - 329.
184. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 5.
185. For biographical details of Joseph Leicester cf Matsumura,
op cit, pp 286 - 291.
186. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, pp 35 - 40.

187. Ibid, p 24.
188. Ibid, p 35.
189. R.C. on Trade Unions, 10th Report 1867 - 1868 (398) -VI)
XXXIX. The evidence given by C.S. Wilkinson and J. Leicester is reprinted F.G.M.M. Volume VI, pp 442 - 456.
190. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 4.
191. Ibid, p 3.
192. It is a matter for conjecture how far the purchase of a mere 100 copies of the summarised Final Report of the R.C. on Trade Unions purchased for re-sale to the 729 members of the G.B.M. Society, is an indication of apathy or educational inability. Certainly cost was a negligible factor for summaries and several allied items obtained by the Society amounted to £3-3-2d only. cf C.S. Account, G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 69.
193. Matsumura T., op cit, p 340, quoting the F.G.M.M. Volume I, p 397, states that two representatives of the Society were chosen to attend the Manchester Congress, but the list of delegates in Frow E. and Katanka M. op cit, pp 43 - 44 contain only the name of Wilkinson as the Society representative.
194. Ibid, p 31.
195. Ibid, p 32.
196. Ibid, p 33.
197. Ibid, pp 33 - 34.
198. Ibid
199. The Parliamentary Committee was the forerunner of the T.U.C. General Council, the executive arm of the organisation cf Musson A.E. 'Trade Unions & Social History' pp 52 - 53.

200. G.B.M. Reports, Volume I, p 89. The sum of £1 was voted from Central Fund. Council Minute Book, entry, p 50. The sum of 6 shillings, based on 1d per member, had been sent the previous year, ibid, p 27.
201. Council Minute Book, entry p 99, also G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 153.
202. Ibid, pp 222 - 223. The Yorkshire G.B.Ms. were fervent supporters of the Alliance cf ibid, p 426.
203. Ibid, p 88.
204. Ibid, p 154. Also Council Minute Book, entry, p 63.
205. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 154.
206. Ibid.
207. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 94. Potter was nominated as Chairman, the other members were Joseph Leicester, George Howell (Secretary), Lloyd-Jones and Alexander MacDonald. Leicester, and his fellow Delegate, Thomas Wilkinson, were both elected to the Congress Sub-Committee organising proceedings and financial business, ibid, p 38.
208. G.B.M. Reports, Annual Accounts, 1871-77, passim.
209. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 255, also Council Minute Book entries, pp 205, 209, 215 and 222.
210. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 198.
211. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 366 - 368.
212. For Greenwood's comments on the subject and the publication of the Common's Division and Abstention Lists cf G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 49 and pp 87 - 95. The lists were published in order that Society members could lobby M.Ps. and seek explanations regarding their political stance, a clear example of the growing self-awareness of artisan political power.

213. Ibid, pp 95 - 102 for reprint of Trade Union, and Criminal Amendment Acts and Digest concerning the same. For reference to additional copies of the Bee Hive, ibid, p 46.
214. cf Chapter 7 (c) supra where the critical attitude of the membership concerning such expenditure is discussed.
215. Potter was paid the sum of £1 as Society representative. Greenwood's representation in 1879 cost the Society £5-19-6½d comprised of £1-15-9d fare to Congress, Subsistence Allowance of £2-2-0d and wages of £2-1-9½d. These, together with the Delegate Fee of 10 shillings and the grant to the Congress Committee of £2, totalled £8-9-6½d.
216. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 256.
217. Potter wrote
"... I beg to say that your Society will not be involved one penny, whatever debts the Company may contract, therefore your members need not fear. The Paper has never been supported by working men though it has served their cause faithfully and well. It is much liked by several thousands of the most intelligent of them, but it has never been encouraged by the Advertisers, and therefore has never paid. I shall try to do my best with it."
218. G.B.M. Reports, Volume V, p 267. Reports that shares were valueless were current at least six months before the confirmatory correspondence was commenced cf ibid, pp 159 - 160.
219. Ibid.
220. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 322.
221. F.G.M.M., Volume I, pp 118 - 119. The votes in favour of the grant were 527; against, 581, with 109 neutral votes.
222. Ibid, pp 188 - 189.

223. Matsumura, op cit, p 215 and Appendix H, ibid, pp 420 - 421.
224. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, p 5.
225. Ibid.
226. Ibid, pp 5 - 6.
227. Ibid, p 329.
228. Ibid, p 338. The subsequent Trade Vote carried the proposal by 198 votes to 43, ibid, p 271.
229. Ibid, p 457.
230. Matsumura op cit, pp 304 - 309.
231. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, pp 196 - 197 for correspondence re background details of donations to Gas Stokers and Agricultural workers.
232. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, p 320. A levy of 1 shilling per employed journeyman member enabled the sum of £27 to be sent to the Miners' Association, ibid, p 295.
233. G.B.M. Reports, Volume VII, pp 276 - 277.
234. Turner H. A., op cit p 212.
235. Hunt E.H. 'Regional Wage Variations 1850 - 1914' (O.U.P. 1973) p 336, also, Webb S & B. 'Industrial Democracy', pp 280 - 281.
236. The dates of establishment are those concerning the formalisation of each Society. Each district had some 'informal' degree of organisation prior to its official establishment. Not all districts are featured e.g. those of Brierley Hill and Alloa Districts, together with that of Blaydon-on-Tyne, existed as small informal organisations at the time.
237. Rules of the G.B.M. Society 1906, Preface p ix.

238. Ibid.

239. The membership of each Society at this date is not known but in 1858 the Lancashire Society had only 114 artisan members and by 1860 the number had only risen to 132, Articles & Statistics 1905-10, p. 689. The earliest membership figures for the Yorkshire Society are dated 1861 and show 332 members, two and a half times more members than that for Lancashire. In 1851 the Lancashire wage rates were about 2/- per chair member in advance of those paid in Yorkshire, but by 1854 equal rates appertained cf Table 6:2 Chapter six supra.

240. G.B.M. Society Rules 1906, Preface p x. A reference in the F.G.M.M., Volume III, p 336, states that the Lancashire Glass Bottle Makers' Society had established a trade magazine to promote a National Society. The Magazine appears to have commenced publication circa 1854, as a letter in the United G.B.M. Society's Report, July 1859, contains a reference to 72 previous issues. This suggests a monthly magazine was published by the Lancashire Society, although the United G.B.M. Society's Report was in fact a quarterly issue.

241. The Yorkshire District branches were Castleford, Swinton, Thornhill Lees, Ferrybridge, Hunslet and York. The remaining branches were St. Helens, Warrington and Liverpool, South Shields, Blaydon, Sunderland, Seaham Harbour, Glasgow, Portobello, Alloa, Leith, St. Peters Quay, Bill Quay, Bristol, Langhor, Stourbridge and Dublin, United G.B.M. Society Report, March 1859, p 35. The above named branches were situated within the following districts:

1. River Tyne, 2. River Wear, 3. Seaham Harbour, Hartlepool and Stockton-on-Tees, 4. Hartley Panns,
5. York, Ferrybridge and Castleford, 6. Hunslet and Thornhill Lees, 7. Barnsley, Swinton, Mexbro and Kilnhurst, 8. Warrington, St. Helens, Liverpool, Manchester and Dublin, 9. Glasgow. 10. Alloa, Leith and Portobello, 11. Bristol, Langhor and Stourbridge, United G.B.M. Society Rules 1858, Rule 6.

242. St. Helens quarterly contributions in March 1859 were £82-2-6d; those of Castleford Branch £80-10-0d.

243. The precise date of the dissolution of the United Society is not known. The last extant Report dated March 1860, carries a notice on the back cover, referring to the impending retirement of C.S. Thomas Chadwick and seeking the opinion of the Trade regarding his successor, but beyond that date nothing further is known regarding the affairs of the Society.
244. The system of tramp relief practised within the United Society consisted of a circuit of the entire country with a payment of £3 covering the following districts; North of England 16 shillings; Yorkshire 16 shillings; Lancashire 11 shillings; Glasgow 11 shillings; Leith 3 shillings and Dublin 3 shillings. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1858, Rule 28.
245. Ibid, Rule 29.
246. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1859, Rule 24. With the formulation of the new Rule, the negligent workman was left to his own devices, being denied unemployment benefit if losing his position through his own fault, cf Minutes Passed at the Conference of Delegates held at Sunderland, 9th - 11th April 1859, Item 2, Reprinted in G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX, p 464.
247. United G.B.M. Society Report, July 1859, p 46.
248. Ibid.
249. The first proposition was carried by 365 votes to 125 and the second by 435 votes to 55. The figures do not, however, include the members of Castleford Branch who unanimously favoured the Central Committee propositions, ibid. The Society had about 600 members, United G.B.M. Society Report, January 1860, p 3.
250. Ibid.
251. United G.B.M. Society Rules 1858, Rules 17 and 18.
252. Ibid, Rule 26.
253. United G.B.M. Society Report, March 1860 p 6.

254. Ibid, p 3.
255. Ibid, p 9.
256. Ibid, pp 9 - 10.
257. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 141.
258. Ibid, p 136.
259. Ibid, p 242.
260. The founding Societies were Lancashire, Glasgow, Portobello, Sunderland, Dublin, Bristol and Blaydon-on-Tyne. Alloa and Brierley Hill were unrepresented and joined the Amalgamation later, ibid, p 243.
261. Ibid.
262. Council Minute Book entry, p 221.
263. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 40 - 41.
264. Amalgamated Society Rules 1872, Rule 1, clause 5, reprinted in G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 43.
265. G.B.M. Reports, Volume II, pp 370 - 371. No reason was given for the rejection of the Scottish proposal other than "... it would not be advisable at present", but clearly the Glasgow Society had more to gain by the acceptance of its proposal than had the Yorkshire Society, being smaller, less wealthy and its trade less prosperous and less immediate in its influence than that of neighbouring Lancashire District.
266. G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, p 243.
267. Amalgamated Society Rules 1872, Preamble, G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 43.
268. Ibid, pp 41 - 42.

269. Amalgamated Society Rules 1872 Reprinted G.B.M. Reports, Volume III, pp 244 - 250.
270. How influential the obvious contradiction was may be judged by Alfred Greenwood's observations a decade later cf Abstract Report of Conference of Glass Bottle Makers of Great Britain & Ireland, 1853, published as Appendix to G.B.M. Reports, Volume IX.
271. G.B.M. Reports, Volume IV, p 41.
272. Ibid.
273. Ibid, p 40 - 41.
274. Ibid, p 129.
275. Ibid.
276. Ibid, p 175 and p 177.
277. Abstract Report....., p 11, op cit.
278. In this capacity the Amalgamated Districts provided financial assistance to the Yorkshire G.B.M. Society during the industrial dispute of 1876 - 1877, G.B.M. Reports, Volume VI, p 145 and pp 147 - 148. Also Volume VII, p 412.
279. Abstract Report....., p 33, op cit.